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SYNTAX OF INFINITIVE IN CHAUCER

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The Syntax of the Infinitive in Chaucer.

The Syntax of the Infinitive in Chaucer.

BY

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To

Professor William Watkins Frost,

MY FRIEND OF COLLEGE DAYS

WHO

CREATED MY INTEREST IN

ENGLISH STUDIES.

PREFACE.

THE following work is a condensation of a Harvard University doctor's dissertation. It is an attempt to classify the syntactical categories of Chaucer's use of the infinitive. The chief aim is to describe his practice rather than to explain the origin of particular constructions. In some cases suggestions are made as to the history of certain usages, but I believe these statements will not be confused with the facts here recorded. They are often made with a view to suggest further investigation.

I am glad to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. William Coolidge Lane, Librarian of Harvard University, for special privileges in the use of the library; to Mr. Thomas J. Kiernan, Superintendent of Circulation, for assistance in the use of the library and for the loan of books; to Mr. George B. Woods for much assistance in the investigation of particular points; to Professor E. S. Sheldon for valuable suggestions; and especially to Professor G. L. Kittredge, who first led me to see the importance of this investigation, and has given me much encouragement and valuable advice, together with great assistance in the reading of the proofs, and to Professor F. N. Robinson, under whose immediate direction this work was begun, and whose large contributions of time and indispensable criticism, in the course of the investigation and in proof-reading, place me under the greatest obligations to him.

J. S. K.

Cambridge, Mass.,
July 3, 1908.

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No attempt is here made to include the names of all the treatises used in the preparation of the following work. As a rule, only those are named which are referred to in the course of the treatment of the subject. An exception is made in the case of some works on Old and Middle English syntax to which general reference is made occasionally.

The abbreviations of works referred to, when not self explanatory, are found in alphabetical order in the bibliographical lists. The abbreviations for references to Chaucer are found on page xx.

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For the Canterbury Tales I have used the six-text print and the print of Harleian MS. 7334; for the Troilus, the two three-text prints, containing MSS. Corpus, St. Johns, Harleian 1239; and Campsall, Cambridge Gg. 4. 27, and Harleian 2280; for the Romaunt of the Rose, the print of the Glasgow MS.; Parallel Text of Hous of Fame and Legend of Good Women; also Parallel Text, and Odd Texts, of the Minor Poems; all printed in the Chaucer Society Publications.

The editions used are The Complete Works of Chaucer, ed. by Rev. W. W. Skeat, 6 vols., Oxford, 1894; The Student's Chaucer, ed. Rev. W. W. Skeat, Oxford and New York [1895]; The Globe Chaucer, London and New York, 1899.

My investigation is based, in the Tales, on the Ellesmere MS., variations being noted. Naturally I am not concerned with changes not affecting the infinitive construction in the passages in question; as a rule, therefore, I give the readings of the MSS. without normalization, except that þ, vowel *v*, and consonant *i* and *u* are modernized. In the same way the examples from the Troilus are based on the Campsall MS., corrected mainly by Corpus. In the Rose I have followed the one MS., the citations from the French being taken from the above-mentioned edition of the Glasgow MS., with which it is printed by Dr. Kaluza. For the Hous of Fame and the Legend I follow the Fairfax MS. In the case of the Canterbury Tales, where six MSS. are referred to, I mean those of the six-text print. Where seven are mentioned, I include Harleian 7334.

Owing to absence from the Harvard Library during a part of the preparation of this work, I have been obliged to depend in part on Skeat's six-volume edition of Chaucer, with his variant readings, for Boece, the Astrolabe, and the Minor Poems. I believe, however, that my classification is very slightly affected by material taken second-hand in this way.

The references by line numbers in the examples from Chaucer are to Skeat's Student's Chaucer. They agree with the six-volume edition except in the prose of the Boece and Astrolabe.

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Al.	Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature française du moyen âge, par P. Meyer. Paris, 1886.
	Al. II. = MS. de l'Arsenal.
	Al. III. = MS. de la Bibl. Imp.
Alex.	Vie de St. Alexis, ed. G. Paris. Paris, 1870.
Aym.	Aymeri de Narbonne, ed. Demaison. Paris, 1887.
B. Chr.	Chronique des ducs de Normendie des Beneeit de Sainte-More, ed. Fr. Michel, 1837–42.
Clig.	Cligés des Chrestien de Troyes, ed. Foerster.
Esc.	Le roman de l'Escoufle, ed. Michelant et Meyer. Paris, 1894.
En.	Le roman d'Eneas, ed. Salverda de Grave. Halle, 1891.
Gil.	Vie de Saint Gilles, ed. G. Paris et A. Bos. Paris, 1881.
M. Aym.	Mort Aymeri, ed. Couraye du Parc. Paris, 1884.
Mer.	Meraugis de Portlesguez, ed. Friedwagner, 1897.
M. Fr.	Marie de France, Lais, ed. K. Warnke.
	Purgatorium, ed. Jenkins.
Raoul	Raoul de Cambrai, ed. P. Meyer et A. Longnon. Paris, 1882.
Rol.	Chanson de Roland, ed. Léon Gautier. Paris, 1872.
Rou	Le roman de Rou des Wace, ed. Andresen. Heilbronn, 1877–79.
Theb.	Le roman de Thebes, ed. Constans. Paris, 1890.
Tr.	Roman de Troie des Beneeit de Sainte-More, ed. Joly. Paris, 1870.

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Be.	Historiæ ecclesiasticæ Gentis Anglorum libri quinque, ed. Johannis Smith. Cantabrigiae, 1722.

Bo.	King Alfred's Version of Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiae, ed. J. S. Cardale. London, 1829.
Chron.	Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, Earle and Plummer. Oxford, 1892.
Cod. Dip.	Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici, Tomi i–vi, Johannis M. Kemble. Londini, 1839–1848.
C.P.	King Alfred's West Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care, ed. Henry Sweet. London, 1871 (E.E.T.S. 45, 50).
L(Le).	Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, ed. Reinhold Schmid. Leipzig, 1858.
Matth.	The synoptic edition of the Gospel of St. Matthew, ed. W. W. Skeat. Cambridge, 1887.
O.E.T.	The Oldest English Texts, ed. Henry Sweet. London, 1885 (E.E.T.S. 83).
Or.	King Alfred's Orosius, ed. Henry Sweet. London, 1883 (E.E.T.S. 79).
Ps.	Libri Psalmorum versio, etc., ed. Benjamin Thorpe. Oxon., 1835.
So.	Flores Soliloquiorum S. Augustini, ed. O. Cockayne. London, 1864–69.

THE FOLLOWING ABBREVIATIONS ARE USED TO REFER TO CHAUCER'S WORKS:

A—I.	Canterbury Tales.
A.B.C.	An A.B.C.
An.	Anelida and Arcite.
Ast.	A Treatise on the Astrolabe.
Bl.	The Book of the Duchesse.
Bo.	Chaucer's Boece (p. = prosa, m. = metrum).
C.L.	A Compleint to his Lady.
C.M.	The Compleynt of Mars.
Compleynte	A Balade of Compleynte.
Damours	An Amorous Compleint (Compleint Damours).
H.F.	The Hous of Fame.
L.	The Legend of Good Women.
La.	A-prologue to the Legend.
Lb.	B- „ „ „
P.F.	The Parlement of Foules.

Pt.	The Compleynte unto Pite.
R.A.	Romaunt of the Rose, A-section.
R.B.	„ „ „ B-section.
R.C.	„ „ „ C-section.
Tr.	Troilus and Criseyde.

Other references to Chaucer's works are self-explanatory. In passages not quoted, the line number indicates the beginning of the passage intended, not always that containing the infinitive.[1]

[1] The form of the infinitive—simple, with *to*, or with *for to*—is indicated in cases where any interest seems to attach to the distinction. Where it is not specially noted otherwise, the method of indication is as follows: in lists containing simple, *to*-infinitives, and *for to*-infinitives, they follow in that order, the three kinds being separated by semi-colons, usually with the simple infinitives unmarked, and the others indicated by a prefixed *to*, and *for*. Where examples are quoted, this indicates the kind of remaining references not quoted in full, as far as the next semi-colon. Where any doubt could arise, explicit statements are made.

Syntax of the Infinitive in Chaucer.

CHAPTER I.

THE SIMPLE INFINITIVE OF PURPOSE.

OLD ENGLISH.

The simple infinitive is used in O.E. to denote the purpose of transitive and intransitive verbs of motion. It is found depending on such verbs as *beran, sendan, cuman, faran, feran, gan, gecyrran,* and *gewitan.*

Matth. 5. 17. nelle ge wenan ðæt ic *come towurpan* ða æ . . . ne *com* ic na *towurpan* ac *gefyllan* (veni solvere . . . non veni solvere sed adimplere) (Sh. p. 10).

C.P. 415, 14. hit is awriten ðæt Dina *wære ut gangende sceawian* ðæs londes wif (egressa est Dina ut videret) (Wf. p. 193).

Ibid. 19. ðonne *gæð* Dina ut *sceawian* (ut mulieres videat . . . egreditur) (Wf. p. 193).

Be. 485, 27. ðæt he *sende* Agustinum . . . *bodian* Godes word (misit A. . . . praedicare) (Wf. p. 193).

Beow. 2073. siððan . . . gæst yrre *cwom* . . . user *neosian* (K. p. 32).

Ælfric, Gr. 134, 12. ic *fare huntian* (venatum pergo).[1]

O.E.T. 326, Vesp. Ps. 95. 13. *cwom dæman* eorðan (venit judicare terram) (Sh. p. 10).

Judith, 191. *berað* linde forð . . . in sceaðena gemong *fyllan* folctogan fagum sweordum (Müller, p. 15).

In a large number of cases in O.E. the infinitive may denote a purpose conceived of as following the main verb immediately or as a

[1] It may be questioned whether Ælfric (pp. 150 ff.) is giving idiomatic expressions in common use rather than translation English, when he renders *video te doctum ire* (which he says is *futuro tempore*) by *ic geseo þæt ðu gæst tæcan.* On the other hand, the modern use of *go* with the infinitive as a future tense suggests the possibility that *gan* had already come sporadically to be so used alongside of *ðæt ðu wylt tæcan,* by which he renders (*video*) *te docturum esse.* But he also gives *faran lufian* as a translation of *amatum ire.*

part of its action. As Shearin (p. 10, note) states it, "This use of the simple infinitive always implies more or less of auxiliary force in the main verb." The difference in this respect between the simple and the prepositional infinitive is illustrated by Luke 1. 76–79: ðu *gæst* beforan Drihtnes ansyne his wegas *gearwian*; *to syllenne* his folce hæle gewit on hyra synna forgyfnesse, þurh innoþas ures Godes mildheortnesse on þam he us *geneosode*, of eastdæle up springende, *onlihtan* þam þe on ðystrum and on deaþes sceade sitta ð; ure fet *to gereccenne* on sybbe weg.

Shearin (p. 31, note) and Wülfing (p. 193), apparently following A. Köhler (p. 455), quote this passage to show the interchangeable force of the simple and prepositional infinitive. All three have misconceived the passage by the omission of the second verb of motion: just as *gearwian* depends immediately on *gæst*, and *to syllenne* denotes the final purpose of *gæst gearwian*, so *onlihtan* depends immediately on the verb of motion *geneosode* (omitted by Wf. and Sh.), and *to gereccenne* denotes the final purpose of *geneosode onlihtan*. The Greek, Vulgate, and Gothic show the same distinction: προπορεύσῃ . . . ἑτοιμάσαι . . . τοῦ δοῦναι . . ., ἐπεσκέψατο ἡμᾶς ἀνατολὴ . . . ἐπιφᾶναι . . . τοῦ κατευθῦναι τοὺς πόδας . . . This is likewise rendered in the Vulgate: *praeibis* enim ante faciem domini *parare* vias ejus; *ad dandam scientiam* salutis plebi ejus, in remissionem peccatorum eorum, per viscera misericordiae dei nostri, in quibus *visitavit* nos, oriens ex alto, *inluminare* his qui in tenebris et in umbra mortis sedent; *ad dirigendos pedes* nostros in viam pacis. The M.E. and N.E. versions have not preserved the distinction in form, since the simple infinitive has ceased to denote purpose except in stereotyped phrases. Though the O.E. translation may be "due to slavish imitation of the original" (Shearin), it is perfectly in accord with O.E. syntax. For the sense of the original, see Meyer's *Kommentar*, pp. 266 ff.[1]

Chaucer.

In Chaucer this usage is confined to the verbs *gon* and *comen*. The idea of actual motion in these verbs with the infinitive remains in a varying degree, so that

[1] The usage of O.F. is in general the same—the simple infinitive after verbs of motion, following the late Latin (cf., e. g., Matth. 5. 17, above, p. 1), which is, in turn, a revival, or more probably a preservation by the vulgar dialect, of the Indo-European construction. For the O.F., cf. Sörgel's chapter on the simple infinitive, pp. 221 ff.

in many cases they approach a mere auxiliary force. It is possible, however, in a large number of cases to regard the infinitive as expressing the immediate purpose of the governing verb, as the terminus of its action.

Gon.

A 3685. I wol *goon slepe.*
A 4250. I wol *go crepen* in by my felawe.
B 1413. and *go* we *dyne.*
D 108, E 1923.
F 1217. *Go* we thanne *soupe.*
F 1334, I 721, Bo. I. p. 3, 37. to *gon ravyssche* (raptum ire), Bo. I. p. 4, 229.[1]
Tr. II. 615, II. 1163, II. 1171, III. 672, IV. 474, V. 402, V. 523:

So *go* we *seen* the paleys of Criseyde;
. . . . .
So *lat* us *seen* here paleys at the leste.

R.B. 2451. he may *go lere* (si le demant).

Comen.

Tr. III. 559. she moste, by here leve,
Come soupen in his hous.
Tr. IV. 653. Thow shalt . . . *Com speke.*[2]

In cases where the first verb is in the imperative, it is often impossible to be certain whether the second verb is infinitive or imperative. Of the Chaucer cases where the verb *gon* or *comen* is in the imperative, only two show a pronounced final *e* in the second verb: *thanke*, Lb. 454, and *knokke*, A 3431, and O.E. has a vowel in the imperative of these words. This situation may be accidental, for the infinitive may drop final *e* within the verse. But it seems to point to a tendency in Chaucer to regard the second verb as imperative; or, what is more

[1] That *go* is frequently colourless is shown by the Latin, with similar idiom. Cf. also Pall. I. 806. Let veer *go delve*, if hervest shal *go sowe*, If veer *shal sowe* it, hervest most *go delve*, where the repetition shows that *go sowe* = *sōwe*.

[2] The stereotyped nature of the simple infinitive of purpose with *gon* and *comen* is shown in Chaucer by the fact that the form of *go(n)* and *come(n)* is invariable. Only these forms are used. As in Chaucer, so in N.E. we can say, "Go see," "I will go see," "I did go see," etc., but not, "He *goes* see," "He *went* see," etc. In O.E., on the other hand, one could say, Dina wære ut gangende sceawian (cf. p. 1). Cf. Tr. II. 1253.

likely, to regard the two verbs as essentially one. To be considered in this connection are (1) our present feeling for the construction, as in *go get;* (2) the modern paratactic construction, *go and get;* (3) the inflection of both verbs as imperative in Chaucer. In the following examples the first verb is in the imperative:

A 2760, 3600, 3709, C 201, D 2026, G 1294, H.F. III. 700, Lb. 454, Tr. II. 396, R.B. 2666, R.C. 5903, 7584, Bl. 749.

In A 3431 the separation of the first verb from the rest suggests the imperative:

> "*Go* up," quod he unto his knave anoon,
> "*Clepe* at his dore or *knokke* with a stoon,
> *Looke* how it is and *tel* me boldely."

Cf. A 3676 (H MS.). Ful pryvely *go knokke* at his windowe.

In the three following examples the imperative plural is inflected:

B 3384. *Gooth bryngeth* forth the vessels.

G 1207. *Gooth walketh* forth, and *brynge* us a chalk stoon.

B 230 (H MS.). *Goth geteth* hire that hath my lyf in cure.

On the other hand, the numerous cases in which the first verb is not in the imperative clearly show the dependent infinitive. In point of fact, it is probable that here, too, the two words formed a stereotyped unit, so that we need not assume the feeling of a syntactical distinction in the second verb between the imperative cases and these latter.[1]

Shearin (p. 12, note 2) cites O.E. examples of a paratactic construction in which the second verb denotes the purpose of the first, though it has the same grammatical form. The final force of the second verb varies so as to grade insensibly into that of an ordinary *and*-combination in which both verbs are syntactically equal. For

[1] In D 1778, His felawe *was go walked* into town, and Bl. 387, I *was go walked* fro my tree, Skeat (*Chaucer*, Vol. VI. p. 284) explains *walked* as the verbal, ending in O.E. in *-aδ*, here omitting the prefix *a-*. I suggest that the use of this expression may also have been assisted by the analogy of the expression *go walk*, felt as a single word. To our present feeling, at least, such expressions as *go get* are essentially equivalent to single words with two phases of meaning. *Go get* is synonymous with *fetch*, which often has the double sense. It would then be easy, perhaps with the assistance of the verbal in *-eþ*, *-ed*, to feel *go walked* as past participle of *go-walk* (cf. *walked is*, A 2368), just as *goth walketh*, G 1207, could be regarded as the imperative of it.

example, put the sentence, "Go and see if he has come," into the preterit, and it may be either "He went to see if he had come," or "He went and saw that he had come," according to circumstances. I shall cite only a few cases, in which the meaning seems to approach the "go see" construction.

A 3620. He *gooth and geteth* hym a knedyng trogh.
Cf. A 3547. Anon *go gete* us faste in to this In
A knedyng trogh.
R.A. 1311. Thanne hadde I will *to gon and see*
The gardyne.
(J'oi lors talent que le vergier
Alasse veoir.)

R.B. 2432. But *gone and visyten* without delay (voisent visiter).
Cf., four lines below, Wherfore I wol *gon* her *to sene* (or irai).[1]

Go followed by the simple infinitive often has more or less of a derogatory connotation.[2]

Tr. V. 786. Now am I not a fool, that wot well how
Hire wo for love is of another wight,
And her-upon *to gon assaye* her nowe?
Tr. III. 312. And I am sworn to holden it secre,
And after I *go telle* two or three.

[1] Cf. D 1820. I *walke and fisshe* cristen mennes soules
To yelden Jhesu Crist his propre rente.
Here *walke* and *fisshe* may be strictly coördinate. But cf. also:
R.C. 7492. *To fysshen* synful menne we *go* (Thynne's text).
R.C. 6842. I *walke* soules *forto cure*.
Cf. also Conf. Am. I. 2138:
and bad him *gon*
To trompen at his brother gate.
And he . . .
Goth forth and *doth* the kynges heste.
Probably E 977 also belongs here:
Preying the chambereres, for goddes sake,
To *hasten hem and faste swepe* and *shake*.
Cf. the modern "hurry up and come."

[2] Apparently this sense grew originally out of the context. There may have been something in the colloquial character of the construction that assisted this connotation. Observe that a large number of the cases in Chaucer are from conversation, directly or indirectly reported. The construction is colloquial to-day. F. H. Chase (*Journal of Germanic Philology*, October, 1906) calls attention to the frequency of the construction at present in addressing children.

B 3097. And thou shalt have my distaf and *go spynne.*
D 653. Man shal not suffre his wyf *go roule* aboute.
D 657. And suffreth his wyf *to go seken* halwes.
D 2241. Now ete youre mete and lat the cherl *go pleye,*
Lat hym *go honge* hymself a devel weye!
F 1003. What deyntee sholde a man han in his lyf
For to *go love* another mannes wyf?
H 169. Yet hath this brid . . .
Levere in a forest, that is rude and coold,
Goon ete wormes and swich wrecchednesse.
Fortune, 52. lat hem *go lye* on presse.

Paratactic construction, as in present English:

D 135. But I seye noght that every wight is holde
To goon and usen hem.

As in O.E., so sometimes in Chaucer, the simple infinitive with verbs of motion represents a simultaneous action, denoting the manner or specifying the nature of the governing verb. Cf. Beow. 711. þa *com* of more under misthleoþum Grendel *gongan* (K. p. 31).

Chaucer.

D 653. Man shal nat suffre his wyf *go roule* aboute.

D 657 may also be considered here:

And suffreth his wyf *to go seken* halwes.
R.C. 6744. Yit may he *go* his bred *begging;*
Fro dore to dore he may *go trace.*
(Metre a pain querre
Et d'huis en huis partout tracier.)
Tr. II. 1253. Nece, y-se who *cometh* here *ryde.*

In M.E. this use seems to be represented also by the prepositional infinitive.

Cf. Conf. Am. III. 302:

And in my barm ther *lith to wepe*[1]
Thi child and myn which *sobbeth faste.*

[1] Possibly this is on the analogy of *lith to slepe.* *Lien* regularly takes the infinitive in M.E. That it is infinitive rather than noun is shown, e. g., by Bestiary, v. 24. ðanne he lieð *to slepen* (Mtz. *Spr.* I. i, p. 58). Cf. H.F. 112.

Such a construction may represent an older simple infinitive. The construction may, however, easily grow out of the purpose infinitive in cases where the fulfilment of the purpose is simultaneous with the governing verb. Cf.

Tr. V. 1114. Til it was noone thei *stoden for to se*
Who that ther come—

with the less distinct purpose force expressed by

Tr. III. 229. And on a pailet al that glade nyght
By Troylus he *lay* with mery chere
To tale.

It is difficult to be certain how far the purpose force was felt in many cases. In the following examples, in which the time of infinitive action and of main verb are the same, the force of purpose is more or less faded out:

Tr. V. 1119. And thus by-japed *stonden for to stare*
Aboute nought.
Tr. I. 309. She, this in blak, lykynge to Troylus,
Over alle thyng he *stood for to byholde.*
A 2850. yet *seyde* he muchel more
To this effect ful wisely *to enhorte*
The peple.

Cf. Tr. II. 815, III. 543, V. 1235,[1] F 444.
B 4457. Faire in the soond *to bathe* hire myrily
Lith Pertelote.
A 927. *to abyden* youre presence
. . . . .
We han ben *waitynge.*
Tr. V. 33. With certeyn folk he *hovede* here *tabyde.*
A 2820. What helpeth it to *tarien* forth the day
To tellen how she weep.
Tr. III. 563. ne *stond* not thus *to muse.*
A 727. I pleynly *speke* in this mateere
To telle yow hir wordes.

Some other auxiliary uses of *gon* and *comen* may conveniently be mentioned here, though they show the [illegible] positional infinitive.

[illegible] suggests [illegible] diffluere [illegible]

[1] For fu[illegible]. 1235, in a forest faste he *welk to wepe*, is probably ordinary purpose. 297. Forth *welk* I tho my-selven *to solace.*

The phrase *go aboute* came to have the meaning of *begin, attempt. Go aboute* has its literal meaning of motion in the two following cases:

D 1711. ther *wente* a lymytour *aboute*
To preche and eek *to begge.*

R.B. 3947. I trowe I shal hym kepe soo
That he shal have no myght *to goo*
Aboute to make companye.
(N'aura pooir d'issir hors.)

It means *attempt, begin,* in the following:

C 158. This false Iuge *gooth* now faste *aboute*
To hasten his delit.[1]

Gon has the sense of *begin, proceed:*

A 1883. Theseus that *gooth* so bisily
To maken up the lystes roially.

Tr. II. 1601. And seide to Deiphebus, "Wole ye *gone*
. . . . . .
To speke here of the nedes of Criseyde?"

Cf. verse 1604. Eleyne . . .
Took first the tale and seyde, "*Go* we blyve."

R.B. 5683. Thanne *goth* he fardeles *for to bere*
With as good chere as he dide ere.
(Puis revont porter les fardiaus.)

Bo. III. m. 9, 33 looks like translation English:

it *gooth to torne* ayen to hym-self (In semet reditura meat.)[2]

[1] Cf. Einenkel, p. 198, for examples of *go aboute* followed by a noun object, where *aboute* has a final sense. If the use of the infinitive with this phrase belongs to this category, rather than being a direct figurative application of *go aboute* + infinitive in the literal sense, as in D 1711, quoted above, we have here an instance of the addition of another preposition in order to intensify the purpose idea, corresponding to the German *um zu* + infinitive and to O.E. *ymb* in phrases and clauses of purpose (cf. Shearin, p. 17). For *ben aboute* with the infinitive, see below, p. 147. For examples outside of Chaucer of *go about* with and without infinitive, cf. *N.E.D.*, s.v. *about*, A 10 and B 6.

[2] The present participle with *gon* is often equivalent to the simple tense of the verb corresponding to the participle.

E 598. *gooth* he ful faste *ymaginyng.*
Tr. V. 1574. And in his herte he *wente* here *excusynge.*
Tr. V. 716. And in hir-self she *wente* ay *portraynge.*
Tr. V. 772. *Gooth* now withinne hym self ay *arguynge.*

The last example is punctuated with comma after *now* by Skeat and M[illegible]es the g., by (Globe Ed.), as if *gooth* were literal, and *arguynge* a circumstantial par[illegible] 112.

CHAPTER II.

THE PREPOSITIONAL INFINITIVE OF PURPOSE.

THE examples from Chaucer do not show any distinction in final force between the infinitive with *to* and that with *for to*. On the other hand, there are numerous examples that show no such distinction to exist:

A 1194. Was come to Atthenes his felawe *to visite*
And *for to pleye*.

Such variations are not all due to the needs of metre, for they are very common in prose:

B 2997. tooken with hem somme of hire trewe freendes *to maken* feith for hem and *for to been* hire borwes.[1]

In Chaucer the syntactical connections of the prepositional infinitive with other elements of the sentence are far more various than those of the simple infinitive. The prepositional infinitive of purpose connects itself with the governing verb by more or less distinct

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Einenkel (p. 238) quotes the two following examples of *comen* with the infinitive in the sense of *happen, come to pass:*

Tr. V. 1472. ther *com* this bor *to se*
A mayde.

H.F. II. 93. I wol the telle what I am
And whider thou shalt, and why I *cam*
To done this.

In the first example the meaning is not, "a maid happened to come," but, "a maid came in order to see this sight" (along with the other crowds who came for the same purpose). The preceding lines make this clear.

In the second example Einenkel's interpretation is possible, but not at all necessary. The idea of motion is prominent throughout the context. Cf. I. 508, II. 30, 102, 104. The passage may simply mean, "why I came down in order to do this."

Bo. IV. p. 7, 95 looks at first like a case of *comen*, meaning *happen:* Ne certes, thou that art put in the encres or in the heighte of vertu, ne hast not *comen to fleten* with delices, and *for to welken* in bodily lust. . . . The Latin suggests a literal sense of *comen:* neque enim vos in provectu positi virtutis diffluere deliciis et emarcescere voluptate venistis.

[1] For fuller lists of such combinations, see Appendix, pp. 159 ff.

implications of the context. Here the examples are classified according to the relation of the subject of the governing verb to the action of the infinitive, an implied relation, not expressed by grammatical form or order. The term logical subject is here used, not to denote an actual subject, nor to indicate the degree of distinctness with which one is implied, but to denote what would be the subject, if the infinitive were changed into the verb of a finite clause. See further the concluding remarks in the present chapter, pp. 24 f.

I. The infinitive denotes the conscious final cause of the action or state of the governing verb.

1. The logical subject of the infinitive is the same as the subject of the governing verb. This is the largest category of the purpose infinitive after verbs, and may be regarded as, in a sense, the normal type of the purpose infinitive in Chaucer.

Old English.

The Beowulf shows no examples of this construction, according to Köhler (p. 46). I find no cases of it recorded by the syntactical works on pre-Alfredian poetry (see Bibliography). Shearin (p. 22) says this is the most general manifestation of the abbreviation of final clauses in O.E. prose. Examples from the prose are :

Chron. 238, 21. ðises geares eac *com* se Eorl Rotbert of Normandig *to sprecene* wiþ ðone cyng (Sh. p. 22).

Laws, 64, 16. ðæt he ne *come* no ðas bebodu *to brecanne* ne *to forbeodanne* ac . . . *to eacanne* (Sh. p. 22). Cf. Matth. 5. 17 (see p. 1), where the same Latin is rendered by the simple infinitive.

For further examples, cf. Shearin, pp. 22 ff.; Wülfing, pp. 213 ff.

Old French.

The simple infinitive, and the infinitive with *à*, *de*, and *por* denote purpose in O.F. (cf. Sörgel, pp. 262, 298; Lachmund, p. 33). The last seems to correspond in its distinctly final force with the Chaucer construction in question. Cf. Sörgel (pp. 298 f.), "Er kann nach Verben jeder Art stehen; hauptsächlich findet er sich nach Verben der Bewegung und Ruhe in eigentlicher wie übertragener Bedeutung."

Theb. 6661. *Por* eus *veeir montent* es tors (S. p. 298).
M. Aym. 2099. Jhesus de gloire qui *se lessa pener*
En sainte croiz *por* son pople *sauver* (S. p. 299).

Chaucer.

The infinitive denoting the purpose of the governing verb, with subjects coinciding, may follow intransitive verbs of motion and of rest, other intransitives and transitives used absolutely,[1] and transitives with objects.

(*a*) Intransitive verbs of motion or rest.

F 302. *gooth* this noble *kyng*
To seen this hors of bras.
A 16. to Caunturbury *they wende*
The hooly blisful martir *for to seeke.*

Ben (here, there, at, etc.). A 3659, D 1587, F 1127, I 919.
Crepen. Tr. III. 1069.
Flen. H.F. II. 102.
Gon. B 4337.
Lyen. L. 2438.
Moven. H.F. II. 225, 343.
Risen. Tr. III. 1465.
Slinken. Tr. III. 1535.
Sitten. I 1051, Bl. 436.
Waiten. F 87.
Willen (with implied verb of motion). B 3786

[1] Classified with intransitives because, when no object follows, the relation of infinitive to main verb resembles that between intransitive and infinitive in point of closeness, more than that between transitive with object and its dependent infinitive. Cf. headnote to the latter category, p. 12 (*c*), below.

(*b*) Intransitives and transitives used absolutely.

A 4146. *They soupen* and they *speke* hem *to solace.*
Tr. III. 206. gan *grone Troylus*
His brother and his suster *for to blynde.*

Conspiren. B 1755.[1]	Seken. F 1121.
Deyen. I 642.	Senden. L. 1473.
Foynen. A 2550.	Treten. Tr. IV. 58.
Pleyen. Tr. V. 1112.	Waken. R.C. 7653.

Certain circumlocutions are equivalent to verbs :

C 400. Of avarice and of swich cursednesse
Is al my prechyng, for to make hem free.
H 53. Ther *was greet showvyng* bothe to and fro
To lifte hym up.
A 1992. and *for to make* it strong
Every *pyler* . . .
Was tonne greet.

(*c*) When the infinitive depends on a transitive verb with an object, it is not so closely connected with its governing verb as in the two previous categories. Hence it is often difficult to tell whether the infinitive attaches itself more closely to the verb itself or to the main clause as a whole. Often, also, this connection passes from the verb to the object, so that the infinitive denotes the purpose of the noun. Cf. Infinitive with Nouns, below, pp. 25 ff.

A 941. *He* for despit and for his tirannye
To do the dede bodyes vileynye
. . . . . .
Hath alle the bodyes on an heepe *ydrawe.*
E 1073. *I* have *doon* this deede
For no malice ne for no crueltee,
But *for tassaye* in thee thy wommanhede,

[1] B 1755. Fro thennes forth the Jues *han conspired*
This innocent out of this world *to chace.*

Here we have a construction that passes easily into the complementary infinitive, which may be regarded as a stereotyped form of the ordinary purpose infinitive. "They formed a conspiracy, in order to," etc., easily becomes, "They plotted, contrived to," etc.

And nat *to sleen* my children . . .
But *for to kepe* hem.

B 1669. And *getest* us the lyght thurgh thy preyere
To gyden us unto thy sone so dere.[1]

B 4534. And in thy service *dide* al his poweer
Moore for delit than world *to multiplye*.[2]

L. 1684. But for that cause *telle I* nat this story,
But *for to preyse* and *drawen* to memory
The verry wif.

E 698. What koude a sturdy *housbonde* moore *devyse*
To preeve hire wyfhood.[3]

G 1386. Thus *maketh he* his introduccioun
To brynge folk to hir destruccioun.

Bo. II. p. 2, 67. *Cresus* was caught of Cyrus and *lad* to the fyr *to ben brent*.[4]

Bo. III. p. 2, 51. they *that desiren* richesses *to han* power and delytes; or elles *they desiren* power *for to han* moneye, or for cause of renoun.

L. 584. was *sent* a *senatour*
For to conqueren regnes.[4]

H 152. This holde I for a verray nycetee:
To *spille* labour *for to kepe* wyves.[5]

I 774. therefore was *sovereyntee ordeyned to kepe* and *mayntene* and *deffenden* hire underlynges, . . . and nat *to destroyen* hem ne *confounde*.[6]

C 409. for *plesance* of folk and *flaterye*
To been avaunced by ypocrisye.[7]

A 3624, F 787, 1331, G 802, I 786, 934, Tr. II. 1694, V. 1018, H.F. I. 245, I. 427, L. 783, 1111, R.A. 1583.

[1] Here it is also possible to regard *lyght* as the logical subject of the infinitive.

[2] Cf. Complementary Infinitive under the phrase *power doon*, p. 95.

[3] *What* might be regarded as the logical subject of the infinitive. Note that if we regard *housbonde* as the logical subject, *what* denotes the means of the infinitive action. Cf. pp. 25 ff., below.

[4] In the active construction corresponding to this, the object of the verb is logical subject of the infinitive. Examples like this may be regarded as belonging either to category 1 or 2.

[5] Cf. H 150. the *labour* is in vayn
To kepe a shrewe,
i.e. *the labor of keeping*. So in H 152 we probably have a pregnant construction: "to lose labor which one performs in order to keep a wife."

[6] Here the logical subject is implied in the abstract *sovereyntee* and in the pronoun *hire*.

[7] *I. e.* "to please and flatter people in order to be advanced." The logical subject is implied in the abstracts *plesance* and *flaterye*.

2. The logical subject of the infinitive is the same as the object of the governing verb. This category, therefore, includes only transitive governing verbs.

Old English.

Crist, 1622. þær hy *leomu ræcaþ to bindenne* ond *to bærnenne* ond *to swingenne*, synna to wite (Hertel, p. 25).

Daniel, 75. *Onsende* þa sinra þegna *worn* þæs werudes west *to feran* (Spaeth, p. 31).

Chron. 21, 31. *Mellitum* he *sende to bodianne* . . . fulluht (Sh. p. 23).

Or. 46, 21. and ðone oðerne *dæl* ðær *leton* ðæt lond to *healdonne* (Sh. p. 23).

Old French.

Theb. 9515. Chascuns criot *son escuier*
Por ses armes *apareillier* (Sörgel, p. 299).

Percival, 6440. *tos ces chevaus mene* il *a vendre* (Lachmund, p. 33)

Chaucer.

A 2621. *doth hem* Theseus to reste
Hem *to refresshe* and *drynken.*

A 1022. he ful soone *hem sente*
To Atthenes *to dwellen* in prisoun.

A 3631. He *sente* his *knave* . . .
Upon his nede to London *for to go.*

Bl. 53. *That* clerkes hadde . . .
. . . put in ryme
To rede and *for to be* in minde.

L. 965. *him* . . . he *ches*
To goon with him.

I 1036. *sette it* on a candlestikke *to yeve* light.

A 4381. gadered hym a *meynee* of his sort
To hoppe and *synge* and *maken* swich disport.[1]

B 2997, 3920, G 392, Tr. IV. 1096, L. 1925, 1945, Bo. II. p. 6, 80, III. m. 12, 52, Ast. II. 40, 28, Bl. 133, A.B.C. 109, R.A. 1254.

[1] Here both subject and object of *gadered* coincide with the logical subject of the infinitive.

3. The logical subject of the infinitive is the same as the dative object of the governing verb, or the same as an equivalent prepositional object.

Old English.

Beow. 1731. *seleð him* on eðle eorðan wynne *to healdenne* hleo-burh wera (K. p. 47).

Judith, 130. and hit þa swa hëolfrig *hyre* on hand *ageaf* higeþoncolre ham *to berenne* (Müller, p. 15).

Or. 292, 28. ac se ealdormon hie *betæhte* lyþrum *monnum to healdonne* (Wf. p. 217).

Ælfr., S.L. 328. þa ðincg þe *him* god *lænde* on ðysum life *to brucenne.*

For further examples, cf. Shearin, p. 24; Wülfing, pp. 215 ff.

Old French.

M. Aym. 1282. La *li donerent* marcheant par amor
Pour ax conduire par lo val Tenebrox (S. p. 299).

Chaucer.

D 813. He *yaf me* al the bridel in myn hond
To han the governance of hous and lond.

Bl. 48. he hit *me took*
To rede and *dryve* the night away.

Tr. V. 1. Aprochen gan the fatal destyne
That Joves hath in disposicioun,
And *to yow*, angry Parcas, sustren three,
Commytted, to don execucioun.

A 991, B 716, C 779, D 897, G 176, I 814, 878, Tr. V. 1856, Bo. IV. p. 6, 286.

4. The logical subject of the infinitive is implied in the noun or pronoun of other prepositional phrases of the main clause, in addition to those mentioned in 3.

Old English.

Cf. L. 20, 20. ðæt hig hine *gesealdon* . . . to ðæs *deman* anwalde *to fordemane* (Sh. p. 25).

Old French.

En. 547. Encor *faiseit* Dido *ovrer*
As murs por miels *fremer* (S. p. 299).

Chaucer.

Bo. I. p. 4, 184. I *putte* it *to gessen* or *preisen* to the jugement *of thee* and *of wyse folk.*

Tr. III. 1585. And prevely *sente after Pandarus*
To hym *to come* in al the haste he may.

L. 584. Out of Rome was sent a senatour
For to *conqueren* regnes and honour
Unto the toune *of Rome*, as was usaunce,
To have the worlde at hir obeysaunce.

5. The logical subject of the infinitive coincides with a possessive pronoun in some other part of the sentence.

Old English.

O.E.T. 360, Vesp. Ps. 118. 5. eala *sien gereht* weges *mine to haldenne* rehtwisnisse (Sh. p. 25).[1] [2]

Chaucer.

A 4156. The cradel at *hir* beddes feet *is set*
To rokken and *to yeve* the child to sowke.

D 2100. for many a muscle and many an oystre
. . . . . .
Hath been oure foode, our cloystre *for to reyse.*

B 1721, F 744.

6. The subject of the infinitive may be suggested by its own reflexive object.

I 1041. it [the paternoster] *is short . . . for to withholden* it the moore esily in herte, and *helpen hym self* the ofter with the orisoun.

B 2722. right axeth a man to defenden violence . . . when the defense *is doon* anon withouten intervalle . . . *for to defenden hym* and nat *for to vengen hym.*

[1] As regards its purpose force, this example belongs better under Section II. of the present chapter (cf. p. 18, below); but it illustrates the relation of infinitive subject to the main clause here.

[2] Sörgel cites no O.F. examples.

7. The subject of the infinitive may be implied in a subordinate clause.

Bl. 88. Anon she *sente* bothe eest and west
To seke him, but *they* founde nought.[1]

8. In accordance with the origin of the infinitive as an abstract verbal noun, its logical subject is often left ambiguous or indeterminate when there is no particular element of the sentence to suggest it. Obviously, this category shades imperceptibly into the previous ones.[2]

B 2223. the womman that was taken in avowtrie was broght in his presence, *to knowen* what sholde be doon.

Here the subject is definite—the agents of the action of the verb *was broght*.

In the following eight examples the subject is more or less ambiguous:

G 1163. stopped was withouten faille
The hole with *wex to kepe* the lemaille in.

An. 155. *sumwhat* moste he feyne,
Whan *he* wex fals, *to covere* his traitorye.

[1] The subject of *to seke* is also the implied object of *sente*.

[2] Shearin (p. 25, 6) says, "Sometimes there is no clearly defined element in the main clause that can be pointed out as the logical subject of the phrase. . . . Here the infinitive loses in predicative force, and is joined to some element, viz. (*a*) noun, (*b*) adjective, (*c*) adverb, in the main clause with modifying or restrictive function, rather than being felt in purpose relation to the main verb."

So far as Chaucer is concerned, at least, this statement represents two separate categories. The latter part ("Here the infinitive," etc.) applies properly to the M.E. use of the infinitive with nouns and adjectives. But the purpose nature of the infinitive is not affected by the definiteness with which its subject is implied. Shearin quotes B.H. 436, 7 in illustration; ðæt *he stowe hæfde* in ðæm streame *to standenne* (quo haberet locum standi). To this the first part of his statement does not apply, for *he*, the subject of *hæfde*, is clearly the logical subject of *to standenne*. The difference between this example and the preceding categories of Shearin lies not in the vagueness of the *subject*, but in the reference of the *purpose*, not to the predicate *hæfde*, but to the object-noun *stowe*.

On the other hand, there are in Chaucer cases in which the infinitive definitely denotes the purpose of the predicate verb, while the subject of the infinitive action is left indeterminate. See the examples on p. 18, B 391, and following, and note 4, p. 18.

F 1370. *They* comanded his *doghters* for tareste
And bryngen hem biforn hem in despit
Al naked *to fulfille* hir foul delit.

I 46. *I* wol yow telle a *myrie tale* in prose
To knytte up al this feeste.[1]

A 712, G 1268, I 226, L. 2613.

In some of the above examples, perhaps, and in the following ones, the subject of the infinitive may be regarded as indeterminate:

B 391. And preyde hire for to ryde agayn the queene
The honour of his regne *to sustene.*

B 516. mercy she besoghte
The lyf out of hire body for to twynne
Hire *to delivere* of wo that she was inne.

I 873. It is good to shewen mo perils that longen to avowtrie, *for to eschue* that foule synne.

A 3947. For Symkyn wolde no wyf, as he sayde,
But if she were wel ynorissed and a mayde,
To saven his estaat of yomanrye.[2]

B 2811, C 545, E 681, Tr. II. 1447, III. 340, IV. 132, V. 1042, L. 1888, Bl. 53.[3] [4]

II. The infinitive often denotes, not so much a consciously conceived, final purpose of the action of the governing verb, as simply the direction, tendency, or destiny of it. On the whole, in such cases the infinitive is more closely related to the governing verb, so that this category passes, on the one hand, into that of

[1] Cf. A 3118. Now telleth on . . .
Sumwhat to quite with the knyghtes tale.

[2] The infinitive here expresses the purpose of the idea implied in the two previous clauses. Its subject is indefinite.

[3] Fx., Tn., Th., B, read *writen is;* T, A, Add., *wryte I;* if the latter is adopted, the subject of the infinitive is definite, and agrees with that of the governing verb.

[4] For a clear case of *definite* purpose with *indefinite* subject, cf. Conf. Am. II. 286:

And *forto knowe* how it so is,
A tale . . .
I thenke telle.

the complementary infinitive, and on the other, into those of the object infinitive and the infinitive of result.

Old English.

Andr. 1161. welan ne *benohton* beornas *to brucanne* on þa bitran tid (Reussner, p. 27).

O.E.T. 360, Vesp. Ps. 118. 5 (cf. p. 16, above). eala *sien gereht* weges mine *to haldenne* rehtwisnisse ðine (utinam dirigantur viae meae ad custodiendas . . .) (Sh. p. 25).

Ælfr., S.L. 16, 100. Gewylnung is þæm menn *forgifen to gewilnienne* ða ðing . . .

Ps. 34. 13. ic . . . *gebigde* min mod *to fæstenne* (Wf. p. 215).

C.P. 68, 13. we mid ðæm læcedome godra weorca gefultumaþ urum ondgiete ðæt hit *biþ ascirped to ongietonne* ða birhtu ðæs soðan leohtes (Wf. p. 217).

Bo. 48, 13. eallne þone welan ðe hi gegaderigaþ hi *læfaþ* fræmdum *to brucanne* (Wf. p. 219).

Be. 472, 33. to eallum ðe ðis ylce stær *becyme* ures cynnes *to rædanne* oþþe *to gehyranne* (omnes ad quos haec eadem Historia pervenire poterit nostrae Nationis legentes sive audientes) (Wf. p. 214).[1]

Old French.

Here, as in O.E., there are varying degrees of distinctness in the purpose function of the infinitive. In general, the infinitive with *por* has a more marked final force than that with *à* and *de* (Sörgel, p. 298). But *à* also approaches the same force (cf. note 3).

Rol. 937. Li XII Per tuit *sunt juget a perdre* (S. p. 251).

Esc. 9054. Pour qu'il *prestast* entierement
A escouter cuer et oreilles (S. p. 252).

[1] In the O.E. examples it will be observed that the infinitives are not fundamentally different from those that show full purpose force. In O.E. the range in syntactical function of the prepositional infinitive is much more limited than in M.E., so that some of the examples just cited may be regarded as belonging also to other categories, treated separately in Chaucer, but growing out of the purpose infinitive.

Al. III. 686. Por chou l'avoit li rois *eslut a maistroier*
Son enfant a garder (S. p. 251).[1]

Rol. 5. Murs ne citet n'i *est remés a fraindre* (S. p. 253).[2]

Chaucer.

1. The logical subject of the infinitive is the same as the subject of the governing verb.

B 286. *Wommen are born* to thraldom and penance
And *to been* under mannes governance.

B 3099. *I was shape*
To wedden a milksope.[3]

R.A. 1123. *Men myght seen to go* for nede
A myle.
(L'en s'en veist bien au besoing
Conduire d'une liue loing.)

Bo. IV. m. 3, 27. *y-chaunged* hir mete of breed *for to eten* akornes.

Tr. I. 733. But yn his mynde of that no *melodye*
May synkyn hym *to glade.*

Bo. I. m. 2, 21. the *sterre aryseth* out of the rede eest *to fallen* in the westrene wawes (casurum rutilo surgat ab ortu).

A 1342, B 843,[4] 2631, 2840, 3605,[4] D 133, 553, 891,[4] E 2034, F 658, G 715, I 145, Tr. II. 213, III. 1596, H.F. III. 891, Lb. 272, L. 2692, Bl. 902, Bo. V. p. 1, 24, V. p. 3, 90, R.B. 4511, 5021, 5644, Balade Ch. Made, 8, Scog. 2.

2. The logical subject of the infinitive is the same as the object of the governing verb.

A 1206. Duc Theseus *hym leet* out of prisoun
Frely *to goon* wher that hym liste.

[1] Note that *son enfant a garder* here denotes the final purpose, while *a maistroier* denotes the direction or particular application of *eslut.*

[2] Contrast this with the more definite purpose force of Aym. 1226. A ceus le fist departir et doner, Qui *remendront a la cité garder* (ib.).

[3] Cf. the more distinct purpose force of Tr. III. 1429:

O blake nyght . . .
That *shapen art* by god this world *to hide.*

These examples likewise show the close connection of the purpose infinitive after transitive verbs with the object infinitive.

[4] Here the infinitive with *damned ben* may be regarded as the passive of a verb that belongs to the category of the Object Infinitive, below, pp. 100 ff. It shows the close relation of the purpose infinitive to certain object infinitives.

A 1796. And yet *hath* love . . .
Ybroght hem hyder bothe *for to dye.*
E 1353. Or elles preye to God hym for to *sende*
A *wyf to laste* unto his lyves ende.[1]
E 903, Tr. IV. 251, Bo. II. p. 2, 12, IV. m. 7, 65.

3. The logical subject of the infinitive coincides with a (prepositional) dative object of the governing verb.

Bl. 18. For nature wolde nat suffyse
To noon erthely *creature*
Not longe tyme *to endure.*
L. 1935. And of hys childe he *moste present make*
To Mynos, to save him or *to spille*
Or *lete* hys beste devoure him.

4. The logical subject of the infinitive coincides with other prepositional objects.

Bo. IV. p. 4, 208. thou ne hast no nede *of no juge to yeven* thee prys (opus est judice praemium deferente).
I 758.

5. The logical subject of the infinitive may coincide with a possessive pronoun.

A 1108. And if so be *my* destynee *be shapen*
By eterne word *to dyen* in prisoun.
L. 1916, Tr. II. 1754.

6. The logical subject of the infinitive does not coincide with any particular element of the main clause, but is left ambiguous or indeterminate.

H.F. III. 297. As burned gold hyt *shoon to see.*[2]
Tr. III. 1387. As wolde God that wrecches that dispise
Servyse of love *hadde* eerys al so longe
As hadde Myda . . .,
To techen hem that they ben in the vice.

[1] This example shows how the dependence of the infinitive easily passes from the verb to the object: "a wife fitted to last" may be the idea here.
[2] Cf. a similar use of the infinitive, with adjectives, below, pp. 51 ff.

R.A. 1395. And *for to kepe* out wel the sonne
The croppes *were* so thicke *yronne.*
(Et por le leu garder de chaut
Furent si espes.)

Tr. II. 1, Bo. III. p. 12, 90,[1] Ast. I. 19, 9, R.B. 4858.

7. For convenience of description I place together here several examples, without regard to the relation of verb and infinitive subject, which show a similar phase of the purpose idea.

A 3091. ther *nedeth* litel sermonyng
To make yow assente.[2]

A.B.C. 118. Than *nedeth* us no wepen[3] us *for to save,*
But only ther we did not as us oughte
Do penitence and mercy axe and have.

Bo. II. p. 5, 133. it *nedeth* of ful manye helpinges *to kepen* the diversitee of precious ostelments (pluribus . . . amminiculis opus est ad tuendam . . . varietatem).[4]

B 2443. it *hadde been necessarie* mo conseillours and moore deliberacion *to parfourne* youre emprise.

Ast. II. 23, 40. *to prove* this conclusioun . . . thou *most have* a plomet.

Tr. II. 1071. *To telle* al how, *it axeth* muche space.[5]

Bo. III. p. 12, 64. And that *to governe* this world . . . ne shal he

[1] Cf. the Latin: non minus ad contuendum patet.

[2] Cf. So. 187, 35. ne *þærf* he nan oðres laðtewes ne larewas þas sunnan *to geseonne* butan þære halæ (Wf. p. 224).

[3] Observe that the construction approaches that of the infinitive with nouns; but that will not account for the latter part of the passage.

[4] In these examples the infinitives are not subject of *nedeth;* as the case from Bo. shows, *nedeth* is here a true impersonal, i. e. it means *there is need.* Moreover the infinitive is not complement of *nedeth,* as it would be in *he needs to go,* for that place is here taken by the nouns *sermonyng, wepen, helpinges.* The infinitives are cases of a weakened purpose construction, denoting *that end with regard to which* the statement of the main clause is true. Cf. Scott, Lady of the Lake (cited Mtz. *Gr.* II. 2, p. 5):

Her kindness and her worth *to spy*
You need but gaze on Ellen's eye.

Here *need* does take a complementary infinitive (*gaze*), but *to spy* is the one that corresponds to the construction in question. Cf. Impersonals, s.v. *Need,* p. 125.

[5] Here, of course, the infinitive may be regarded as subject of *axeth.* But if *it axeth* means *there is required,* then we have the looser final construction. Cf. E 1543. al this axeth leyser for tenquere.

nevere *han nede* of non help fro withoute? (Et ad mundum . . . regendum nullis extrinsecis amminiculis indigebit?)[1]

A 2755. *Hym gayneth* neither, *for to gete* his lif,
Vomyt upward ne dounward laxatif.

Tr. V. 1067. Al be I not the firste that dide amys,
What *helpeth* that, *to do* my blame awey?

I 241. the goode werkes quyken agayn, and comen agayn, and *helpen* and *availlen to have* the lyf perdurable in hevene . . . albeit that they ne *availle* noght *to han* the lyf perdurable, yet *availlen* they *to abregge* of the peyne of helle, or elles *to geten* temporal richesse, or elles that god wole the rather enlumyne . . .; and eek they *availlen for to usen* a man to doon goode werkes. . . . And thus . . . Jesu Crist wole that no good werk be lost; for *in somwhat it shal availle.*

Cf. ib. 234. The othere goode werkes . . . thei been outrely dede *as to the lyf perdurable* in hevene.

Ib. 240. ther is no trust to no good werk that we han doon biforn; that is for to seyn, *as for to have* thereby the lyf perdurable in hevene.

Ib. 247. been outrely dede *for to have* the lyf perdurable.[2]

Tr. IV. 1300, H.F. III. 526, 658.

A similar use of the infinitive after adjectives may be seen in the following examples, which are placed here because of the general similarity of the construction. Cf. Infinitive with Adjectives, below, pp. 44–59.

[1] Cf. Alfred, Boet. 96, 32, where this passage is rendered: God ne *bepearf* nanes oðres fultomes buton his selfes his gesceafta *mid to wealdanne.* Here *mid* seems to connect the infinitive more closely with *fultomes* as a kind of complement. The two ways of conceiving the idea are, of course, very nearly alike, and pass into one another: I need *help-to-do a thing,* or *I need help, in order to do it, if I am to do it.* The latter looser final construction, corresponding to the Chaucer cases, is shown in O.E., Boet. 59, 28. For ðisum þingum *beðearf* ælc mon *fultumes* to eacan him selfum, þæt *he mæge gehealdan his welan.* Ib. 31, 19. se þe micel innierfe and mislic *agan wile,* he *beðearf* eac miceles *fultumes.*

[2] In some of the preceding cases, as *hym gayneth, helpeth . . . to letten it, helpen and availlen to have the lyf perdurable,* it is possible to regard the infinitives as direct complements, as, e. g., in A 3610, Go, deere spouse, and *help to save* oure lyf. On the other hand, it seems better in many cases to regard the infinitive as in the looser final relation, as indicated by a pause between verb and infinitive; e. g. Tr. V. 1067 above seems to mean, "Of what advantage is that, so far as relieving me of blame is concerned?" *Helpen* and *availlen* are both frequently used absolutely. Cf. the examples from I 241 ff., and see A 2820, B 2235. The same observations apply to the noun *help* in Bo. III. pp. 12, 64 (above, p. 22).

E 2373. Was no thyng *bet, to make* you to see,
Than strugle with a man upon a tree?
R.B. 2619. That it were *better* of hir alloone,
Forto stynte my woo and moone,
A loke on hir I caste goodly.
Tr. IV. 1602. as *for to lyve* in reste
Myn herte seyth it wole ben the *beste*.
[i. e. to steal away.]

In the arrangement of the material in the present chapter, I have not intended to imply that these separate categories were felt as distinct by Chaucer. The different divisions are little more than an attempt at graphic representation of several facts: (1) that the expression of purpose in the infinitive varies from a distinctly conceived conscious motive, to a mere direction, tendency, or destiny, or to result; (2) that the implication of a subject of the infinitive action varies from a close connection of the infinitive with the subject of the governing verb, to the absence of any definitely implied subject at all; (3) that the connection of the purpose function of the infinitive with the governing clause is variously close with the verb of the predicate, with the predicate as a whole, or with a noun or adjective of the predicate. When the infinitive is closely associated with a transitive verb whose object can at the same time be regarded as the subject of the infinitive, this object and the infinitive may together be taken as object of the main verb. This construction is treated in the chapter on the Object Infinitive, p. 100, below. When the infinitive is joined closely in a stereotyped phrase with the main verb, or an equivalent predicating expression, whose subject is the logical subject of the infinitive, we have the so-called Complementary Infinitive, treated below, p. 88. The relation of the infinitive to nouns

and adjectives, in the predicate and other parts of the sentence, forms the subject of the two following chapters.

CHAPTER III.

THE INFINITIVE WITH NOUNS.

ATTENTION has been called (p. 12 (*c*)) to the fact that, especially with transitive verbs having objects, it is often a matter of slight difference of standpoint whether we connect the infinitive with the verb or with the object. As a matter of fact, there is no sharp distinction in many cases between the infinitive as a modifier of the verb and of its object,—the infinitive belonging rather to the predicate as a whole. But the noun with a modifying infinitive may become isolated from the predicate, as in the phrase *time to come*, so that the infinitive becomes an adjective modifier, and in this use can belong to a noun in any part of the sentence.

As an example of the varying relation of the infinitive to the verb or to its object, cf.

A 379. A cook they *hadde with hem* for the nones
To boille the chiknes,

with

F 208. The hors that *hadde wynges for to flee.*

In the first, the infinitive denotes the purpose of the predicate *hadde*, with its modifiers; in the second, *hadde* does not affect the infinitive construction, *wynges for to flee* being the unit. Cf. also

H.F. III. 864. Ne porter *ther is noon to lette*
No maner tydynges in to pace.
R.A. 518. Ne *ther was noon to teche me.*

In these cases the attachment of the infinitive to the word *noon* depends on the amount of literal force given to *ther*. According to this we have, either "none-was-there to-teach-me," or "there-was none-to-teach-me." A number of examples showing this variable relation are given at the beginning of the lists of the Chaucer cases.

1. The noun on which the infinitive depends is the logical subject of the infinitive.

Old English.

In the works on O.E. syntax cited in the bibliography I find no case where the infinitive is attached directly to a noun which is at the same time its logical subject. I hesitate to believe that such cases do not occur in O.E.[1]

Old French.

B. Chr. I. 616. Ceo esteit *signe a demustrer*
De batailles (S. p. 281).
Ib. II. 24060. *Virge al* fiz Deu en sei *porter* (ib.).

Chaucer.

(*a*) The infinitive may belong to the predicate as a whole rather than exclusively to the noun.

C 19. the Formere principal
Hath maked me his vicaire general
To forme and *peynten* erthely creaturis.
Tr. III. 131. agreen that I *may ben he*[2]
. . . . . .
In trowthe alwey *to don* yow my servyse.

I 170. ther shal the sterne and wrothe juge sitte above, and *under hym the horrible put of helle open to destroyen* hym. . . . And

[1] There is a construction approaching this in the use of a purpose phrase consisting of a preposition and an abstract noun. Cf. Luke 2. 32. leoht *to ðeoda awrigenesse* and *to ðines folces wuldre* (lumen ad revelationem . . et gloriam) (Sh. p. 38).

[2] In this chapter, pronouns and substantivized adjectives are treated as nouns, so far as the infinitive construction is concerned.

in the left syde, mo develes than herte may bithynke, *for to harye* and *drawe* the synful soules.

A 579, B 3685, D 268, E 1382, Tr. II. 121,[1] 1685, V. 923.

(*b*) The infinitive is attached more closely to the noun.

A 1992. and for to make it strong,
Every *pyler*, the temple *to sustene*,
Was tonne greet.

C 480. Whiche been the verray *develes officeres*
To kyndle and *blowe* the fyr of lecherye.

R.A. 1357. That is a *fruyt* full well *to lyke*.[2]

L. 1114. Ther nas coursere wel ybridled noon
Ne *stede* for the justyng wel *to goon*
Ne large palfrey esy for the noones
Ne juwell fretted ful of riche stoones.[3]

With passive infinitive:

Tr. I. 174. Nas never yet *thing* seyn *to ben preysed* derre.

Bo. II. p. 5, 115. ther be no *beautee to ben desyred* (nihil inest appetendae pulchritudinis).

I 779, 893, F 650, Tr. III. 1291, IV. 1390, H.F. I. 491, P.F. 216, Bo. I. m. 1, 5, III. p. 9, 172, III. p. 11, 137, IV. p. 1, 28, V. p. 5, 1, V. p. 6, 127, 157, R.C. 7312, Ast. I. 13, 3.

2. The noun on which the infinitive depends is logical object of the infinitive.

Old English.

Andr. 23. wæs þær hlafes wist werum on þam wonge ne wæteres *drync to bruconne* (Reussner, p. 27).[4]

[1] Cf. Infinitive of Result, pp. 59 ff., below.

[2] It is possible here that *lyke* has its modern meaning. In that case *fruyt* is logical object of the infinitive. Cf. Impersonals, p. 124, below, with the note.

[3] Observe that here *wel to goon* (= "fitted to go well") is used parallel with the other descriptive adjective phrases of the passage. See the whole passage, and cf. *well to lyke*, R.A. 1357, above. I suggest that the phrase *well to do* belongs here also, *well* being an adverb modifying *to do* rather than an adjective on which *to do* depends, though the whole phrase is now used adjectively. Cf. *well to live*, Wint. Tale, III. iii. 125.

[4] Classified by Reussner under the heading, "bei Substantiven und Verben in verschiedenen Verhältnissen."

Ælfr., Numb. 11. 16. Nu we sind hlæne næbbe we nan *þing to etanne* buton manna (Wohlfahrt, p. 35).

Ælfr., Gr. 135. 6. hæfst ðu *æceras to erigenne* (habes agros ad arandum).[1]

Old French.

Rou., III. 2422. Si ceo *chose a mangier* ne fust (S. p. 282).

Chaucer.

(*a*) The infinitive may belong to the predicate as a whole, rather than exclusively to the noun.

A 233. His typet *was ay farsed full of knyves*
And pynnes for to yeven yonge wyves.

L. 1129. Hath sent . . .
After his sone and after ryche thynges,
Booth *ceptre, clothes, broches,* and eke *rynges,*
Somme *for to were,* and somme *for to presente.*

(*b*) The infinitive is attached more closely to the noun.

A 3268. She was a *prymerole,* a *piggesnye*
For any lord *to leggen* in his bedde
Or yet for any good yeman *to wedde.*

A 3821. he foond neither *to selle*
Ne *breed* ne *ale.*

B 1953. And *notemuge to putte* in ale
. . . .
Or *for to leye* in cofre.

B 1891, Tr. V. 224, Bl. 916, Bo. II. p. 7, 4 (materiam *gerendis rebus*), IV. p. 2, 177, Ast. I. 1, 1, R.A. 1145, 1667.

Here belong also examples like

Tr. III. 547. Now is ther but *litel more for to done.*

Tr. V. 1092. yet was there *more to done.*

E 2122. Ther nys *namoore to seye.*

F 314. to seyne, F 1606. to seyn, H 266. to sayn, P.F. 655. to sey, F 1584. to telle, etc.

[1] See pp. 109 ff., below.

3. The noun on which the infinitive depends denotes the means or instrument of the infinitive action.

Old English.

C.P. 126, 1. gif ðær ðonne sie *gierd mid to ðreageanne*, si ðær eac *stæf mid to wreðianne* (districtio virgae quae feriat, sit et consolatio baculi quae sustentet)[1] (Wf. p. 223).

Bo. 90, 16. þæt biþ þonne cyninges *andweorc and his tol mid to ricsianne* (Wf. p. 223).

Be. 558, 27. and eac swylce *bec on to leornianne* and lareowas orsceattinga geafon and sealdon (libros quoque ad legendum) (Wf. p. 223).

Bo. 34, 16. hæfþ swiþe manegu *weste holu on to gadrianne* (Wf. p. 223).

Old French.

Gil. 1977. Une *bende a lier* la plaie (S. p. 282).

En. 1140. *Cordes e liames por traire* (S. p. 282).[2]

Chaucer.

(*a*) The infinitive may belong to the predicate as a whole, rather than exclusively to the noun.

(1) The noun may denote ambiguously the subject or the means of the infinitive action.

A 1441. And *gaf* him *gold to mayntene* his degree.

R.A. 571. And *forto kepe* hir hondis faire
Of *gloves* white she *hadde a paire.*

A 2546,[3] G 577, I 330.

[1] Observe that the relation of means is distinctly expressed by the preposition *mid*, while the Latin has a construction in which the noun is *subject* of the action (here a finite verb). Possibly this change, in the translation, indicates a hesitation in O.E. to conceive of the inanimate noun as subject of the action, and a consequent substitution of a personal subject: *a rod* [*for a man*] *to strike with*, instead of *a rod to strike*. Cf. p. 26, 1, under Old English, and note 1.

[2] The cases in O.E. in which the noun denotes means are usually accompanied by a preposition. Sörgel's examples show no case of it in O.F. Chaucer has both constructions.

[3] This and the first two examples on p. 30 may perhaps be regarded as equally ambiguous, as subject or as means of the infinitive action. It is largely a matter of standpoint. A sword may perhaps be thought of as *stabbing*, an axe as *striking*, a rod as *scourging*, of themselves, though the last seems less likely than the first. For the sense of the last, note that E reads *to scoure with*.

(2) The noun denotes the means of the infinitive action.

A 3568. And hast oure vitaille faire in hem yleyd
And eek an *ax to smyte* the corde atwo.
I 670. broghte a *yerde to scourge* the child.
D 2099. Yif me thanne of thy *gold to make* oure cloystre.[1]
Bl. 251.

(*b*) The infinitive is attached more closely to the noun.

(1) The noun may denote ambiguously the subject or the means of the infinitive action.

I 852. This is that oother *hand of the devel with five fyngres to cacche* the peple to his vileynye (cf. diabolus dicitur habere *duas manus quibus* frequenter hominis capit).

A 2148. Aboute his chaar ther wenten white *alauntz*,
Twenty and mo as grete as any steer,
To hunten[2] at the leon or the deer.
C 736. Ye! for an *heyre clowt to wrappe* me.[3]

A 195, B 2216, 4055, Tr. II. 9, IV. 337, H.F. III. 859, A.B.C. 100, 177, Ast. Pr. 98, P.F. 179, 182.

(2) The noun denotes the means of the infinitive action.

B 3665. *Nettes* of gold threed hadde he greet plentee
To fisshe in Tybre.
F 208. The hors that hadde *wynges for to flee*.
R.A. 513. But *way* I couthe fynde noon
Into that gardyne *for to goon*.
(Leu par ou g'i peüsse entrer.)
H.F. I. 136. And hir *combe to kembe* hyr hede.

[1] Cf. R.A. 1145 (above, p. 28 (*b*)), where the sense is similar to "spending-money." In D 2099 the purpose is not general, but specific, and probably belongs as well to *yif*.

[2] For the sense, cf. L. 1121. Ne hound, for hert or wilde boor or dere, and cf. note 3, p. 27.

[3] Professor Robinson calls my attention to the fact that here a large number of MSS. (among them Cam. Dd, and H) read *to wrappe in me*, thus showing the ambiguity.

A 2280, B 3853, I 226, Bl. 970, Ast. Pr. 92, I. 13, 6, R.A. 523, R.B. 5178.[1]

4. The noun on which the infinitive depends denotes the place of the infinitive action.

Old English.

Be. 554, 20. and him *stowe* geceas mynster *to timbrianne* (Wf. p. 220).

Old French.

En. 6955. Onkes nul meillor *leu* ne vi
Por assaillir son enemi (S. p. 287).

Chaucer.

P.F. 314. unnethe was ther *space*
For me *to stonde*, so ful was al the place.

L. 1999. and hath *roume* and eke *space*
To welde an axe.[2]

Tr. II. 1370, L. 2013.[3]

5. The noun on which the infinitive depends denotes the time of the infinitive action. It denotes (*a*) the time *at which*, or (*b*) the time *during which*.

Old English.

(*a*) Beow. 316. *mæl* is me *to feran* (K. p. 48).
Be. 605, 39. ðа him ðа þæt sæd broht wæs, ofer ealle *tid to sawenne* (Wf. p. 221).

(*b*) Beow. 2556. næs þær mara *fyrst* freode *to friclan* (K. p. 48).
Be. 634, 32. nis me nu, cwæþ he, *tid* min lif *to onwendenne* (Wf. p. 221).

Old French.

(*a*) Al. II. fol. 106. Or aprosme li *tens d'acomplir* lor talent (S. p. 286).

(*b*) Clig. 6154. S'a Jehanz buen *leisir* eü
De faire ce que il li sist (S. p. 286).

[1] Here the cognate noun may be regarded as denoting a kind of means, equivalent to manner: "a love with which, according to which."

[2] For *space* in the sense of "time," and other senses, cf. below, p. 32, note 3.

[3] This example, *hath so queynte weyes for to go*, may belong also under 3.

Chaucer.

(*a*) A 3672. Now is *tyme wake* al nyght.[1]
A 720. But now is *tyme* to yow *for to telle*,
F 1270. hath his *tyme* yfounde
To maken his japes.
B 3019, E 8, I 828 (horam comedendi), Tr. II. 1597, IV. 1124, L. 1637,[2] Bl. 730, R.A. 1542.

(*b*) I 981. if he have *lyf to parfournen* it.
Bo. IV. p. 6, 36. I have litel *tyme to don* it.
I 178. *respit* a while *to biwepe* and *biwaillen*.[3]
A 1188, 3596, B 2219, D 551, F 977, Tr. II. 1369, III. 200, 510, V. 942, H.F. II. 546, L. 1552, Bl. 172, P.F. 487, Bo. II. p. 3, 7.

6. The noun expresses a causal relation to the action of the infinitive.[4]

B 1837. Tel me what is thy *cause for to synge*.
B 2793. *matiere ne cause to calle* thee.
I 348. *matere and occasioun*.
Bo. V. p. 3, 205. *resoun to* hopen (sperandi . . . ratio).
Bo. IV. p. 7, 7. (tum remunerandi exercendive bonos tum puniendi corrigendive improbos *causa*).[5]

[1] All of the seven MSS. except E and H read *to* with the infinitive.

[2] *Terme ysette to come* soone at nyght. In view of the further designation of time in *at nyght*, *terme ysette* may be taken as a phrase equivalent to a verb *promised*, with complementary infinitive. Cf. Complementary Infinitive, pp. 88 ff. Cf. Bl. 730. broke his *terme-day To come to hir*.

[3] On account of the various figurative senses of words like *respit*, *space*, *leisure*, etc., it is often hard to say how definite the idea of time is. For further examples of words of this sort in the sense of *permission*, *opportunity*, etc., see below, p. 37 (*c*). See also p. 31, 4.

[4] Cf. O.E., Be. 510, 18. ðysse ðeode þæt is Norþanhymbrum wæs se æresta *intinga to onfonne* Cristes geleafan, þæt . . . (occasio fuit percipiendæ fidei, quod . . .) (Wf. p. 221). By a change similar to that mentioned in (*b*), p. 36, below, certain nouns name the relation of cause to the action of the infinitive, though not necessarily containing the cause in themselves. This usage may be compared with that of nouns denoting the subject of an infinitive action (see 1, pp. 26 ff.), and cases representing a Latin objective genitive of the gerund or gerundive. Cf. Bo. IV. p. 7, 87. thilke difficultee is the *matere*, to that oon man *of encres* of his glorious renoun, and to that other man *to confirme* his sapience (gloriae propagandae illi vero conformandae sapientiae difficultas ipsa materia est).

[5] In such a slavish translation, it is difficult to say whether Chaucer felt *cause* as a noun. The syntax in the Latin is based on the noun construction, which we still retain in form in the expression *because of* followed by a verbal noun in *-ing*.

Bo. I. p. 4, 36. Thou seidest . . . that it was a necessarie *cause* wyse men *to taken* and *desire* the governaunce of comune thinges, for that the governements of citees . . . ne sholde nat bringe in pestilence . . . (hanc sapientibus capessendae rei . P . necessariam causam esse . . . , ne . . . ferrent).

Bo. IV. p. 4, 312. and *for to haten* shrewes it[1] nis no *resoun* (malos vero odisse ratione caret).

B 3054, I 512.

7. The relations of means, time, place, and the like, are more explicitly denoted by a preposition closely attached to the infinitive and connecting it syntactically with the noun.[2]

(*a*) By.

H.F. III. 50. koude I knowe
Any *lettres for to rede*
Hir names *by.*

(*b*) In, inne.

R.A. 622. for swetter *place*
To pleyn ynne he may not fynde.
(leu por soi joer.)[3]

Tr. II. 404. a *mirrour in to prye.*

In specialized senses:

G 881. And a *brat to walken inne.*

Tr. III. 657. This were a *weder for to slepen inne.*

(*c*) Of.

Tr. III. 1688. This is no litel *thyng of for to seye.*[4]

P.F. 168. *mater of to wryte.*

Bo. II. p. 5, 212. he hath nat *wherof to ben robbed.*

(*d*) On, upon.

P.F. 695. other *bokes* took me to
To rede upon.

[1] That is, *there is* no reason.

[2] This is a common O.E. construction. Cf. the examples on p. 29, above.

[3] Cf. Infinitive with Adjectives, below, p. 58, 4.

[4] Cf. Infinitive with Adjectives, below, p. 58, 4. Note the difference between such adjective-noun combinations as these, and that, for example, in B 3935, p. 34 (*f*), where the adjective is not essential to the relation.

Tr. V. 1199. He nath *wher-on* now lengere *for to honge.*
H.F. III. 42. a feble *fundament*[1]
To bilden on a place hye.
Tr. II. 1274, R.C. 7416.

(*e*) To.

D 573. That hath but oon *hole for to sterte to.*
B 656. She hath no wight *to whom to make* hir mone.

(*f*) With.

B 3935. And Phebus eek a fair *towaille* hym broughte
To dryen hym *with.*
A 302. yaf hym *wher-with to scoleye.*
A 3118, B 1462, 2368, C 344, F 470, 640, G 1055, 1148, I 252, Tr. IV. 425, R.A. 460, R.C. 6710.

In the case of the preposition *with*, the infinitive may be more closely associated with the verb to denote purpose, the preposition having a more or less vague reference to some thing or circumstance by means of which the action of the infinitive takes place.

A 791. That ech of yow *to shorte with* oure weye
In this viage *shal telle tales* tweye.
Cf. G 597. *telle* a myrie *tale* or tweye
With which he glade may this compaignye.
B 2145. I *telle som what* moore
Of proverbes than ye han herd bifoore
. . . . . .
To enforce with theffect of my mateere.
B 1596, Tr. V. 1688, H.F. III. 917.[2]

[1] See note 4 on p. 33.
[2] For similar cases in which the preposition has faded into adverbial use, meaning little more than *in order to*, cf. Conf. Am. I. 2169:

Forth with here children on the morwe,
As thei that were full of sorwe,
Al naked bot of smok and scherte,
To tendre with the kynges herte;

and II. 281:

For this Envie hath such a kinde
That he wole *sette himself behinde*
To hindre with an othere wyht,
And gladly *lese* his oghne riht
To make an other lesen his.

In these cases *with* refers to a state or action, not a noun, and is about equivalent to *thereby*. In the second example the second infinitive is equal to the first in syntax, both denoting the purpose of the verb.

8. In section 3, pp. 29 ff., were recorded various concrete nouns with the infinitive, the nouns denoting the means of the infinitive action. In the present section are recorded several kinds of abstract nouns with the infinitive, the relation of noun to infinitive varying from the idea of means to that simply of complement, as after verbs of analogous meaning; as from *strength (by which) to do*, to *ability or desire to do;* and varying from the idea of purpose to that of mere direction or fitness.

Old English.

Be. 604, 19. þonne wæs ðam halgan Godes men Cuþberhte swa mycel *getydnes* and *gelærednes to sprecanne* . . . þætte . . . (porro Cudbercto tanta erat *dicendi peritia*) (Wf. p. 220).

Lk. 22. 24. þæt mannes Sunu on eorðan *anweald* hæfð synna *to forgyfanne* (Wf. p. 220).

Or. 50, 15. forþon nis me þæs *þearf to secgenne* (Wf. p. 221).

Be. 545, 10. he hæfde ða *geornfullnysse* haligu gewritu *to rædanne* (sollertiam lectionis) (Wf. p. 221).

Old French.

Theb. 8422. *Seürté* doinst *de porter* fei (S. p. 287).

Aym. 1808. Ainz n'ot *pooir de dire* (S. p. 286).

Rol. 1411. Ki *de murir* nen orent *esperance* (S. p. 286).

Esc. 4780. Grant *voleir* a *de li aidier* (S. p. 285).

Chaucer.[1]

(*a*) Certain abstract nouns, more or less concrete in application, referring to particular actions or things, not

[1] Here, as with the infinitive after nouns in general, it is often difficult to say whether the infinitive is connected with the noun more closely than with the whole predicate as a phrase unit including the noun. The question depends on the extent to which the phrase containing the noun has become stereotyped. In the present classification no attempt is made to divide on this basis. Such a division must be more or less subjective, and of little value. The chief thing to remember is the fact that, on the one hand, certain nouns not connected with verbs take the infinitive; that, on the other, certain verb-noun phrases equivalent to single verbs also take it; and that one category passes into the other. For the sake of illustration, a number of verb-noun phrases are included in the chapter on Complementary Infinitive. An example that belongs in either category is I 570. *yevest hym conseil to sleen* a man, where the infinitive may be regarded as belonging to *conseil* or to a phrase meaning *advise*.

Another use of the infinitive with nouns connects itself with the infinitive

personal qualities or powers. Here it may be observed that the passage from cases like those in 3, p. 29, to the present examples is very easy. Cf.

F. 883. That ye [God] swiche *meenes* [rokkes blake] make, it *to destroyen*,
Whiche *meenes* do no good, but ever anoyen.

Here the noun *meenes* wavers in sense between a concrete thing (*rocks*) and the name of the *relation* of the rocks to the destruction of sailors.

Garnyson. B. 2527. the . . strongeste *garnyson* that a rich man may have, as wel *to kepen* his persone . . .

Glee, cf. Melodye.

Instrument. D 1483. we been goddes *Instrumentz*
And *meenes to doon* hise comandementz.

Les. L. 1545.

Melodye or glee. A.B.C. 100.

Mene. Tr. V. 1551.

Myrthe. A 767. And of a *myrthe* I am right now bythought
To doon yow ese.[1]

Office. Bo. IV. p. 2, 127. which that nis no naturel *office to geten* thilke same soverein good (quod adipiscendi boni naturale officium non est).

Pley. C 628.

Remedie. B 3183, Tr. IV. 1623, V. 917.[1]

Sleighte. Tr. II. 1511, B 2386.[1]

Wey. Tr. III. 247, IV. 1626, V. 356,[2] P.F. 72, An. 283.

Wyle. A 3403.[1]

(*b*) It has been shown above, p. 35 (*a*), that words like *meene* easily pass from the designation of things to that

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after adjectives. Cf. examples like Tr. IV. 1638. that is *o-point to breste*, "on the point of breaking," "ready to break." In this particular case there is probably no doubt that the phrase has become wholly stereotyped and equivalent to a simple adjective followed by the infinitive. But other phrases in process of formation might perhaps be classed equally well with nouns or with adjectives.

[1] Here, as in (*b*), 1, p. 30, the noun may also be regarded as coinciding with the logical subject of the infinitive.

[2] For the phrase *stonden in weye*, cf. p. 97, below.

of relations. Certain words like *wey, usage*, denoting the means of a dependent infinitive, come to denote the relation of *manner* (cf. note 3, below).[1]

Gyse. R.A. 789. *To dauncen* wel koude they the *gise.*
A 2910.[2]
Manere. F 187.
Usage. Tr. II. 27. Ek *for to wynne* love yn sondry ages
In sondry londes, sondry ben *usages.*[3]
Wyse. Tr. I. 697.

(*c*) Nouns denoting personal powers arising from within, as *might*, or from without, such as *leve.*[4]

Abilite. Ast. Pr. 2. thyn *abilite to lerne* sciencez.
Auctoritee. I 931.
Body and myght. Tr. II. 633.
Craft. A 401.
Cunnyng. Tr. I. 83, H.F. III. 78, 966; P.F. 167.
English and wit. Bl. 898.
Grace. (to) [5]B 284, 3923, D 920, 1174, 1260, E 1665, G 237, I 74, 809, 1090, Tr. IV. 1684, V. 694, 940, H.F. II. 579, L. 2084, 2285, 2457, P.F. 84, Bl. 111, 1006; (for) C 240, D 1653, I 283, 288, Tr. III. 928, Lb. 459.
Heele and myght. D 1946.
Langage. A 2227.
Leve. C 848. hadde *leve* hym to sorwe *brynge.*
D 1489. han we *leve*
Only the body and not the soule *greve.*[6]

[1] The relation of *manner* does not always, however, reside in the noun, as does that of means, e.g. in the nouns under 3, p. 29. In one case the noun itself seems to contain the sense: R.B. 3263. So moche tresoun is in his male Of *falsenesse for to seyne* a tale (where the reading of the MS. seems to me to be better than Skeat's reading, *feyne*). But the other cases are different.

[2] Here *to do* may depend on *cam* as an infinitive of purpose.

[3] This case shows the connection between means and manner: *usages, practices by which to win*, easily pass into *custom, manner of winning.* Cf. also pp. 42–43, below.

[4] The nouns in (*c*) are separated from those in (*d*) on the ground that the former still retain some notion of *means*, while the latter are more analogous to verbs which take a complementary infinitive.

[5] See introductory note on the tabulation of simple and prepositional infinitives.

[6] The use of the simple infinitive in these two cases is probably to be explained by their analogy to verbs like *suffer*, which frequently takes the simple infinitive, and *leten*, which usually takes it.

(to) A 4007, B 2667, 3136, E 745, 1841, L. 1320, 2283, Bo. I, p. 4, 286, II. p. 2, 43 (licet . . . redimere), IV. p. 4,203 (licentiam . . . scelerum); (for) D 83, 908, L. 2300.

Liberte. Tr. IV. 1357, V. 1300, Bo. I. p. 4, 195 (uti licuisset).

License. B 1253, 2254, I 1009.

Mowinge. Bo. IV. p. 4, 40 (patrandi sceleris possibilitate), IV. p. 4, 43.

Myght. (to) B 462, 2408, 2668, 2681, G 255, I 738, Tr. I. 33, V. 1788, Fortune, 62, P.F. 119, 150, 220, H.F. I. 41, 49; (for) G 480, H 227, Tr. I. 45, V. 1419.

Mynde. Bo. I. p. 3, 3 (ad cognoscendam . . . faciem mentem).

Power. (to) B 492, 2406, 2410, 2936, C 383, D 1319, G 471, 637, I 455, Bo. II. p. 6, 84 (efficere non possit), III. p. 11, 22, 118, IV. p. 2, 43, 281, p. 6, 350 (puniendi jus), V. p. 3, 198, p. 6, 240; (for) Tr. V. 166.

Presence. Bo. V. p. 6, 307. this *presence to comprehenden* (comprehendendi . . . praesentiam).

Ryght. Bo. II. p. 2, 28 (jus querelae), 48, 85.

Science. I 229.

Sentence and loore. B 4540.

Strengthe. B 932, Bo. V. p. 4, 192.

Strengthe and hardynesse. L. 892.

Understondyng. Bl. 761.

Vertu. H.F. II. 18.

Wit. (to) I 48, Tr. II. 1063, Bl. 278; (for) P.F. 146.

Ymaginacioun. D 2218.

(*d*) Nouns denoting an action or state of the mind, usually accompanied with an emotion, such as *desire, purpose*, etc. The infinitive construction with these nouns is analogous to the complementary infinitive with verbs.

Affeccioun. L. 793. so greete *affeccioun*
And so grete *lykynge* Piramus *to see.*

Appetit. H 180, 189, I 818, Bo. III. p. 11, 101.

Corage. E 1254. a greet *corage*
Hadde this knyght *to been* a wedded man.

B 939. corage or hardinesse.[1]

I 314.

[1] The nouns here may be more passive in sense, in which case they belong under (*c*).

Coveitise. I 818, 845.

Delit. I 571. *delit to spille* blood.

D 945. greet *delit* han we
For to been holden stable.

I 610, Tr. I. 762.[1]

Desdeyn. G 41, I 152; I 144.

Desir. R.B. 1785. encreside my *desire*
Unto the bothom *drawe* nere.
(ma volentes . . . croissoit
Tousjours d'aler a la rosete.)[2]

(to) B 2808, D 374, E 454, I 408, 474, 781, 846, Tr. III. 1651, L. 1157; (for) Tr. III. 1531, IV. 573.

Despit. F 1395.

Devocioun. La. 251, Lb. 325.

Diligence. B 1234.

Dredyng. R.B. 5219 (sans soupeçon d'encusement).[3]

Entencioun. Bo. III. p. 11, 91 (manendi intentionem).

Entente. I 608 (cum intentione fallendi), I 800, 829, 1006, Bo. I. p. 4, 169.

Ese. I 835. that restreyneth the delicaat *ese to sitte* longe at his mete.[4]

Fantasye. Tr. III. 275, Form. Age, 51.

Feere. B 3369.[3]

Feith and hope. I 734.

Hardiment. Tr. IV. 533, R.B. 1827, 2487, 3392.

Hope. (to) A 88, E 1181, I 168, 223, 227, 832, Bo. II. p. 2, 91, P.F. 697; (for) D 2146, F 488, 1170, G 678.

Likerousnesse. I 741 (amorem pecuniae).

Likynge. An. 74. Through-out the world so gan hir name springe
That hir *to seen* had every wight *lykinge*.

Love. Bo. V. m. 3, 20.

Lust, Lest, List. B 2518, 3996, E 619,[5] Tr. IV. 1089, An. 189, Bl. 273, 908.

[1] The context seems to indicate that *delit* in these examples has a more active sense than now. Cf. Infinitive of Cause, p. 69, 1 (*a*), below.

[2] Cf. the verb *desire* with simple infinitive, under Complementary Infinitive, p. 92, below.

[3] For further examples, cf. verbs of fearing, below, p. 92, and note 3.

[4] That *ese* has an active sense here is indicated by the parallels above: I 834. Mesure also, that restreyneth by resoun the deslavee appetyt of etynge: Sobrenesse also, that restreyneth the outrage of drynke.

[5] See note 2, p. 40.

Noyse. P.F. 491. The *noyse* of foules *for to ben* delivered.[1]

Plesaunce. B 186. hath caught so greet *plesance*
To han hir figure in his remembrance.[2]

Preyere. Ast. Pr. 5.

Purpos. I 129 (proposito confitendi), 305, 1005,[3] H.F. I. 377; I 305, Tr. IV. 734,[3] A.B.C. 113.

Sekynge. Bo. IV. m. 1, 17.

Talent. B 2439, I 228, Bo. V. p. 5, 37.

Wyl. R.B. 1707. No *will* hadde I fro thens yit *goo*.
(Ge n'oi talent de repairier.)[4]

(to) B 2622, 2728, I 535, 543, 1069, Bo. IV. p. 4, 32, C.L. 111;
(for) E 2134,[5] I 514, Bo. I. p. 5, 38.

Wilfulnesse. B 2551.

(*e*) Other nouns that take a complementary infinitive in the same way as verbs of analogous meaning.

Amonestynge. I 1013.

Assent. C 758. oon of his *assent*
To sleen us yonge folk.

Assure. An. 331. To profren eft a newe *assure*
For to be trewe.

Beginnyng. Bo. V. p. 4, 233 (visendi . . . exordium).

Choys. B 4436.

Commaundement. H.F. III. 931.

Confort. F 1167. Swich *confort* he yaf hym *for to gon*
To Orliens.

Conseil. B 2281, 4443, I 570, P.F. 522;[6] B 2979, P.F. 631 (cf. 633).

Consentement. I 967.

[1] A pregnant construction: "noisy demand to be delivered."

[2] Though from the context this case is ambiguous, it seems to mean *took a fancy, a desire, to have*. Cf. other expressions with *cacchen*: I 689. *cacchen corage* wel *to doon;* E 619. *caughte* yet another *lest To tempte* his wyf; cf. also E 2134. It may, however, be like the modern *take pleasure in*. Cf. Infinitive of Cause, p. 69 f., below, and Complementary Infinitive, pp. 88 ff., below.

[3] Compare Complementary Infinitive, p. 95, below. All cases of *ben in purpos* might logically be included under Complementary Infinitive. Note, however, that Tr. IV. 734 has *in purpos* without the copulative verb *ben*.

[4] Possibly on the analogy of the verb *willen* and the simple infinitive.

[5] Cf. Complementary Infinitive, p. 97, below.

[6] In P.F. 522 in the sense of *plan*. Cf. (*a*), p. 35, above. For B 2281 and 4443, see below, p. 91.

Dorryng.

Tr. V. 837. In *dorryng don* that longeth to a knyght.

Exemple.

A 568. take *exemple*
For to be wise in byynge.

B 2692. yeven *ensample* to every man *to folwe* and *sewe* hym.

Bo. IV. p. 4, 94 (exemplum . . . fugiendi).

In the above cases the sense is an example to be followed; in the following it is an example not to be followed:

Tr. I. 232. For-thi *ensample* taketh . . .
Ye wyse, proude, and worthi folkes alle
To scornen Love.[2]

Heeste. C 490.

Help. Tr. I. 695, An. 241.

Mocioun. Tr. IV. 1290.[3]

Necessitee. B 1425, Bo. V. p. 6, 178, 180 (existendi necessitate).

Nede. B 356, E 1479, Tr. I. 886,[4] Bo. III. p. 3, 72.

Remembraunce. A 1046.

Suretee. D 911. And *suretee* wol I han er that thou pace,
Thy body *for to yelden* in this place.[5]

Trust. I 240.

[2] Cf. Robt. of Gl. (Mtz. *Spr.* I. i. p. 159, 143):
Þis men mowe here *ensample nime, to late* here sones wyve,
And *ȝeve* hem up here lond al bi here lyve.

Also:

R.A. 1539. Ladyes, I preye *ensample* takith,
Ye that ayeyns youre love mistakith.

O.F. used both *pour* and *de* with the infinitive after *ensample* (see Godefroy, s.v. *ensample*, Vols. III. 567, IX. 553 f.).

La Tour Landry, p. 173. Ce est bon *example de faire* charite.

The two opposite meanings in the English examples are easily accounted for in the light of the Latin and O.F. constructions. *An example of doing*, or *for doing, a thing*, may be interpreted as in favour of the action or against it, according to the context, which is likely to be unmistakable. For the sense of Tr. I. 232, cf. *war*, below, p. 49.

In O.E., so far as I have seen, *bysne* is used only in the first sense, of an example to follow.

Be. 526, 20. and he ða se bisceop betwih oðre lare monnum *to lifigeanne* þa fægerestan *bysne* his gingrum forlet (Wf. p. 223).

C.P. 307, 9. Crist us sealde *bisne* urne willan *to brecanne* (exemplum nobis frangendae nostrae voluntatis praebeat) (Wf. p. 223).

In Orm (following Dr. Sypherd's citations in *Mod. Phil.*, July, 1907), *bisne* followed by the infinitive, or by a *þatt*-clause, is always used in the affirmative sense.

[3] The infinitive here may denote purpose with the predicate instead of depending on *mocioun*.

[4] Cp. has simple infinitive.

[5] The logical subject of the infinitive coincides with *thou*.

9. The construction in sections 1–8, where the infinitive denotes, with varying degrees of distinctness, the purpose or application of the noun, or has a complementary relation to it, may be compared in general with the objective genitive of the Latin gerund and nouns with the gerundive, *ad* with the gerund and nouns with the gerundive, and the future active participle. These constructions are represented in O.E. by *to* + the gerundial infinitive, and in O.F. by *à* and *de* + the infinitive, *de* corresponding to the genitive of the gerund (cf. Sörgel, p. 281).

Here follow several nouns, mainly of French origin, corresponding in syntax to French nouns followed by *de* + infinitive in the sense of a Latin *subjective* genitive.[1]

Jupartie. Tr. V. 1530. was in *jupartie*
To dye.[2]
R.B. 2666. Go putte thi self in *jupartie*
To aske grace and thee bimene.
Tr. V. 701.
Peril. I 458. be we *in peril to falle.*
L. 1277. *in peril for to sterve.*
C.M. 108. *in peril to be sleyn.*[3]
Utilite. Ast. II. 26, 26. The *utilite to knowe* the ascensions . . . is this.

Both subjective and objective constructions easily pass into that of apposition. *Peril to fall* may be

[1] I do not assert that historically the construction is that of a subjective genitive, but I use the term as a convenient description of the Chaucerian construction. Whether it is subjective or objective depends on the sense of the noun at various periods, and is often merely a question of standpoint. E.g. *aventure* in the sense of *risk* may take the *objective* construction, while in the sense of *dangerous situation* the construction may be regarded as subjective.

[2] Cf. Conf. Am. III. 992. That stood *in aunter for to die.*
M. Fr., 2 Am. 170. ki *en aventure* se met *de li porter* en sum le munt (S. p. 290).

[3] Cf. Estoit *en peril de queir* (God. X. 319[a]).

regarded as either the *danger of falling* or *danger from falling*. Cf. also

Tr. II. 1204. the *labour* it *to sowe* and plyte,

where the infinitive may be regarded as expressing purpose or apposition; and cf.

Tr. II. 27. *for to wynne* love . . . sondry ben *usages* (*purpose*, becoming *manner*), with

Tr. I. 150. Hire olde *usage* wolde thei not letten
As *for to honoure* hire goddes

(*purpose*, becoming *apposition*). Cf. vv. 159 ff. shewed . . . hire *observaunces* . . . feste *for to holde*.[1]

Usaunce.

P.F. 674. As . . . was alwey hir usaunce
To singe a roundel.

L. 1476.

Wone. A 1040. As was hir *wone to do*,
She was arisen.

L. 2131. of gentil wymen ys the *wone*
To save a gentilman.[2]

In Tr. III. 690, There was no *more to skippen*[3] nor *to traunce*,
But boden go to bedde,

the infinitive may be regarded as a pure noun with adjective modifier *more* (cf. Einenkel, p. 230); but it seems more likely to be of the nature of a partitive genitive, as in the French construction. Cf. Raoul, 6968. Se vont ferir sens *plus de demorer* (S. p. 288).

Cf. Conf. Am. II. 3222. Ther was *ynowh to wepe* and *crie*
Among the modres.

[1] In this last case the infinitive denotes ordinary purpose.

[2] It will, of course, be observed that such constructions interchange with the subject infinitive. Cf. the similar interchange of complementary and dependent infinitive with adjectives, below, pp. 49 ff. Cf. O.E., Be. 543, 29. ðæt eac swylce his *ðeaw* wæs on oþrum cyninges tune *to donne* swa swa hit eaþe beon mihte, with 565, 41. se ærest betwih bisceopum reogollicne *ðeaw to lifianne* . . . sæde and lærde (vivendi morem) (Wf. p. 222). For the appositional phrase *in point* with infinitive, cf. Adjectives, p. 46, below.

[3] So Cp. Cl. = speken.

CHAPTER IV.

THE INFINITIVE WITH ADJECTIVES.

THE infinitive depending on an adjective denotes the purpose, direction, or application, of the quality of the adjective. This category is closely related to that of the infinitive with nouns, the adjective *expressing* the relation of the noun to the infinitive which in the former category was *implied*. Cf. "an axe to cut with," and "an axe *fit* to cut with." Accordingly, the classification is here arranged on the basis of the relation of the infinitive to the noun modified by the adjective. As in the case of nouns, it is impossible to draw a definite line between phrases in which adjective + infinitive is the unit, and those in which the adjective forms a part of a phrase in the predicate, which is in turn followed by a complementary infinitive; as, e.g., between "He-was + busy-to-serve-him," and "He-was-busy + to-serve-him." On the other hand, it would be illogical to include all the examples in a single category, as the extreme cases of each kind are clearly different.

1. The noun or pronoun, expressed or implied, to which the adjective belongs, is the same as the logical subject of the infinitive.

Old English.

The simple infinitive is rare:

Be. 486, 7. forþon he *gearo* wære on ðam ylcan gewinne mid him *beon* (Wf. p. 197).

Matth. 3. 11. ðæs nam ic *wyrðe* gsceoe *beara* (Wf. p. 197).[1]

With *to*:

Beow. 1805. wæron æðelingas eft to leodum *fuse to farenne*

[1] For further examples, cf. Mtz. *Gr.* II. p. 40; Koch II. p. 56.

(K. p. 49). This is a common O.E. construction. See Wf. pp. 197 ff.

Old French.

B. Chr. II. 37830. Si *corios*, si *entendanz*
A faire les suens sainz voleirs (S. p. 283).

M. Fr., Purg. 788. *Appareilliez* e *ententis*
De novele bataille *emprendre* (S. p. 283).

Rou, III. 8201. E si sunt *fort por* els *deffendre* (S. p. 284).

Chaucer.

(*a*) Adjectives denoting in general passive states, qualities, or powers, of persons and things, corresponding in sense to the nouns mentioned in 8 (*c*), p. 37.

Able, Unable. A 167. *to been* an abbot *able*.
F 279, G 1131, C.M. 282, Bl. 786, Bo. III. p. 12, 166, etc.; (for) A 584, C 134, D 1472, E 1912, Tr. II. 207, etc.

[Apt], Unapt. Tr. I. 978.

Arrayed. A 2867.[1]

Amerous. R.B. 2901.[2]

Brymme. R.B. 1836.

Certein. Bo. IV. p. 4, 62.

Comune. Bl. 812.

Cunnyng. C.L. 75; Pt. 97.

Curteis. R.B. 2781.

Delitable, cf. Amerous.

Digne. E 818, I 985.

Esy. A 223. an *esy man to yeve* penaunce.[3]

Feithful. Bo. II. p. 1, 85.

Fethered. R.A. 951.

Fieble. I 970.

Free. D 49. I am *free to wedde*.[4]

[1] As *brennen* is both transitive and intransitive in Chaucer, this example may belong under 2, below, p. 49.

[2] The context shows *amerous* to have a passive sense.

[3] See below, p. 58, 4.
In A 2593, So *evene* were they chosen, *for to gesse*, the infinitive may depend loosely on *evene*. Cf. Conf. Am. V. 2412. And *evene aliche as man mai gesse*, Outward thei were. Or the infinitive may be detached, and regarded as a kind of conditional, "if one were to guess."

[4] For an active sense, cf. p. 48.

Fresh and grene. Tr. I. 816.

Gentil. Tr. V. 1075.

Gracious.

Tr. I. 883. Ne nevere saw a . . . more *gracious*
For to do wel.[1]

Hevy. C.M. 103.

Kene grounde. R.B. 1885.

Lik, Likly.

(*a*) R.A. 679. But it was wondir *lik to be*
Song of mermaydens.
(Ains le peüst l'en aësmer
A chant de seraines de mer.)

L. 1066. And sawgh the man that he was *lyke a knyghte.*
. . . . . .
And *lyke to ben* a verray gentil man.

L. 1173. he is so wel ywroghte,
And eke soo *likly for to ben* a man.[2]

(*b*) Tr. III. 1270. I *lykly* was *to sterve.*
H.F. II. 365, L. 1533, 2129, R.B. 5205.

Mete, Unmete, cf. Cunnyng *and* Suffisaunt.

Mighty, Unmighty. I 547, Bo. III. p. 5, 10, etc.

Most. Tr. I. 1000. That thow shalt be the beste post I leve
Of al his lay, and *most* hise foos *to greve.*[3]

Moveable. Bo. III. m. 12, 8. maked . . . the wodes *moveable to rennen.*[4]

Neigh. Bl. 888.

Newe. A 428.

Paregal. Tr. V. 840.

(In) point. B 910, Tr. IV. 1153, R.B. 3356.

Possible. B 2213. damages that . . . been *possible to fallen.*[5]

Proporciouned. F 192. wel *proporciouned for to ben* strong.[6]

Saverous [MS. faverous], cf. Amerous.

[1] Cf. the noun phrase *grace wel to do*, above, p. 37.

[2] In these first three examples note the closeness to the literal meaning of *lik*. Cf. La Tour Landry, p. 63, 2. the women that were so horned were *lyche to be* horned snailes (ressamblent). Cf. *semen*, below, pp. 126 ff., with note 3, p. 127.

[3] If *most* be taken as adjective = *greatest*, it is unnecessary to read *to-greve* as Skeat does. The existence of this hybrid compound may well be doubted.

[4] Cf. III. p. 10, 251. the *moevinge to ryden*, and Infinitive of Result, pp. 59 ff., below.

[5] Cf. Impersonals, under *possible*, p. 132, below.

[6] Note that this does not mean "so well proportioned as to be strong"; the correlative to *so* is *as* in 193. Cf. v. 194 with 195.

Shaply. A 371, Tr. IV. 1452.
Sharp. R.A. 945 (agues por bien percier).
Siker. R.A. 1100.
Span-newe. Tr. III. 1665.
Stark. E 1458.
Stedfast. Bo. IV. p. 6, 414.
Strong. I 1072.
Suffisaunt. A 1631, D 1960 (in-), E 1458, I 421, L. 2524, Ast. Pr. 105; E 960
Swift. R.A. 949.
Unmete, cf. Cunnyng.
Usaunt. A 3940.
Used. G. 666, Bo. II. p. 4, 110.
Wont, Woned. A 1692, Tr. I. 510, Bo. III. m. 2, 43; (to) A 1195, 1557, 2932, 3651, etc.; (for) A 3667, Tr. II. 1520, etc.
Worthy. D 1045, F. 555; (to) A 1831, 2794, B 1982, 2926, etc.; (for) A 2380, B 457, E 829,[1] I 992.
Ynogh. B 2563, G 860.[2]

(*b*) Adjectives similar in meaning to nouns denoting an activity of the mind, such as *desire, eagerness, dislike,* etc. Cf. the nouns in 8 (*d*), pp. 38 ff.

Afered. (simple inf.) Tr. I. 975; (to) III. 481.
Agast. L. 1534.[3]
Agroteyd. L. 2454.[3]
Ashamed. B 2262.[3]
Besy, Bisy.[4] (to) Bl. 1265, An. 266, R.A. 1045 (baoient a li servir), R.A. 1052. *besy* and *curyous* (sunt curieus De desprisier), R.B. 3845; (for) Tr. II. 569, II.F. III. 382.
Blisful. D 220.[3]
Blithe. R.A. 811. As man that was *to daunce blithe.*
(Car de karoler . . .
Estoie envieus et sorpris.)[5]

[1] Here E has the simple infinitive in a four-accent line.
[2] The noun may here denote the means of the infinitive action.
[3] Cf. note 2, and Infinitive of Cause, p. 70, below.
[4] There is no way of distinguishing these examples from the complementary infinitive after a phrase. Cf. the O.F., for example, of R.A. 1045 with that of R.A. 1052.
[5] Cf. R.A. 810, I wolde have karoled right fayn,—as showing the active sense, with the French. Cf. Infinitive of Cause, below, pp. 70–75.

Boold. G 1415.

Bown. F 1503.[1]

Curious. B 1433, R.A. 1052 (cf. *besy*), R.B. 4416, R.C. 6578.

Desirous. Bo. III. p. 1, 34 (audiendi cupidum), Form. Age, 59, Tr. I. 1058, II. 1101, R.B. 3657; A 1674, R.B. 2510.

Desirynge. B 2767.

Diligent. B 530, D 1975, 1976, I 469, Lb. 70, R.B. 4862.

Disposed.

Tr. II. 682. *Disposed wel* and with *aspectes payed*
To helpen sely Troilus.

E 755, Tr. IV. 230,[2] V. 984.

Enclyned. I 361, H.F. II. 241, 317.

Ententyf. E 1288, Tr. II. 838, H.F. III, 30, 31, Bo. II. p. 1, 7, R.A. 685 (a chanter . . . ententis), R.A. 1156 (a prendre ententive), R.B. 2022.

Eschu. E 1812, I 971.

Fayn. E 2017, etc.[3]

Free. C 401. for to make hem *free*
To yeven hir pens.

Glad.[3] B 3826. They weren *glad* for pees unto him *sende*.[4]

Gredy. Tr. III. 1758, Bo. II. m. 8, 9 (fluctus avidum mare . . . coerceat).

Hardy. A 405. *Hardy* he was and *wys to undertake*.[5]
R.B. 3083. (ai pris cuer et hardiment De dire.)

Loth. Tr. V. 21.[3]

Lusty. G 1344. Nas nevere . . .
. . . lady *lustier* in carolynge,
Or *for to speke* of love and wommanhede,
Ne knyght in armes *to doon* an hardy dede.[6]
A 4004.

Lykerous. F 1119.

[1] With words like *bown*, *ready*, etc., sometimes the sense is active, like *eager*, or passive, like *prepared*. Where the meanings shade into one another, I have included all the examples in the present category. In one or two cases like *free*, where there can be no doubt, I have made the separation.

[2] In this example, *Disposed wood* out of his wit *to breyde*, *disposed* inclines to a passive sense resembling the adjectives in (*a*).

[3] Cf. Infinitive of Cause, p. 70, below.

[4] All seven MSS. have simple infinitive.

[5] Skeat punctuates with comma after *was*, making the infinitive depend only on *wys*. The meaning seems to me to be "both bold and wise to make ventures."

[6] Pollard (Globe Ed.) punctuates as if *for to speke* were a parenthetical, absolute infinitive. But what follows is not "love and womanhood," but "love and knighthood." For the thought, cf. Tr. II. 503. "Can he wel speke of love?" quod she, and Tr. III. 198. shall bere the belle To speke of love.

Necligent. B 2513, D 1816, I 362, 1065, R.B. 3900 (trop mole De li garder).

Obedient. A 851.

Obeisant. I 997.

Open. I 170. put of helle *open*[1] *to destroyen* hym.

Penyble. D 1846.

Prest. Tr. II. 785, III. 484, 917, IV. 162, P.F. 307.

Redy. (to) A 21, 425, 1853, B 2199, 2453, etc.; (for) A 1677, C 683, G 154, Tr. IV. 1211, etc.

Recchelees. B 229, R.B. 3903.

Slowe. R.A. 322. (lente D'es gratiner).

War. Truth, 11. be *war to sporne* ageyn an al.

R.B. 3237. And be wel *ware to take* nomore
Counsel that greveth[2]
(garde bien que tu ne croies).

Wery. L. 2258.[3]

Wood. R.A. 203 (esrage Coveitise de l'autrui prendre), R.B. 5707.

Ydel. B 2778.

Yeven. An. 111.

2. The noun or pronoun to which the adjective belongs is the logical object of the infinitive.

Einenkel says (*Anglia*, 13, p. 84, 14), "Ist das infinitivische subject eines adjectivs von einem objectsnomen begleitet, so tritt in den meisten fällen eine kreuzung ein mit dem unter dem infinitiv des zweckes verzeichneten belege: *he is good to see* (*love*, etc.), das heisst, das objectsnomen wird zum subject gemacht, während das frühere infinitivische subject eine function erhält, die einem gewöhnlichen zwecksinfinitiv zum verwechseln ähnelt."

Einenkel does not here distinguish very clearly between the simple and prepositional infinitive, but his

[1] This example might possibly be better included in the foregoing section, but the meaning seems to suggest more than a mere passive state. It illustrates the difficulty of separating certain border-line cases between extremes as different as *desyrous* and *neigh* (cf. pp. 46, 48). Cf. *prest* and *redy*.

[2] The previous example (Truth, 11) shows that the negative is not essential to the construction with *war*. Cf. Lydgate, R.S. 804. be *war and wys To leve* the wey . . . into West And *go* . . . toward the orient, where the sense is affirmative, exhibiting the same difference with *war* as with the noun *exemple* followed by the infinitive. See above, p. 41, note 2.

[3] Cf. Infinitive of Cause, p. 71, below.

examples show that he has the latter in mind. My collections from O.E. are not sufficient to test thoroughly his assumption that the prepositional infinitive as subject in this construction is the original syntax (or, what is equivalent, the simple infinitive, later replaced by the prepositional). But certain considerations seem to point to the *zwecksinfinitiv* as the original construction:

(1) The original function of the prepositional infinitive in O.E. was to denote purpose, and (according to Köhler, p. 47, § 10) it was so used first with nouns and adjectives.

(2) The simple infinitive is found only once as subject (of *lystan*) in the Beowulf (K. p. 38), and neither this nor the prepositional infinitive is subject of nouns or adjectives, except in ambiguous cases of the kind under consideration. In these cases, so far as form is concerned, the infinitive may be regarded as the subject of the noun or adjective; or it may be complement of the latter, and the noun or clause which was regarded as object of the infinitive may now be looked upon as the subject of the sentence.[1]

(3) In Wülfing's collections from Alfred's works there is no case of the simple infinitive as subject of an adjective predicate, and only one doubtful case as subject of a noun predicate (cf. p. 197, 2). There is only one certain case of the prepositional infinitive as subject of a noun predicate (p. 211, *c*), and none at all as subject of an adjective predicate, except in those cases where it interchanges with the dependent construction after nouns and adjectives.

(4) From Alfred's works, under the infinitive with nouns and adjectives, Wülfing cites about a hundred cases of the kind where interchange is possible. Of these, roughly, fifteen have the infinitive as subject, ten are ambiguous, and sixty-five show the dependent infinitive.

[1] In Beow. 1922, næs him *feor* þanon *to gesecanne* sinces bryttan, if *feor* is an adverb, the construction may be impersonal, "it was not necessary for him to seek far for the giver of treasure," according to the O.E. cases cited under the Infinitive as Predicate, p. 136, 7, below. If *feor* is an adjective, the construction is mixed. Cf. Andreas, 424. mycel is nu gena lad ofer lagustream, *land swiðe feorr to gesecanne.*

It is difficult to see why Köhler distinguishes between Beow. 2094, *to lang* is *to reccenne*, hu ic . . ., in which he says *to reccenne hu ic* . . . is subject, and 1725, *wundor* is *to secganne*, hu mihtig god . . ., in which he regards *to secganne* as dependent on *wundor*, and *hu mihtig god* . . as subject of *wundor* (pp. 45, 48).

The following examples illustrate the construction in O.E.:

(*a*) Dependent: Bo. 26, 28. ðа þе nauþer ne *sint* ne *getrewe to habbenne*, ne eac *eðe to forlætanne* (Wf. p. 200).

(*b*) Ambiguous: Ps. 16. 14. swynenflæsc, *þæt* Judeum *unalyfedlic* is *to etanne* (Wf. p. 204).

Beow. 1003. no *þæt yðe* byð *to befleonne* (K. p. 49).

(*c*) Subject: Be. 471, 16. hit is *god godne to herianne and yfelne to leanne* (Wf. p. 201).[1]

Chaucer.

Here the examples are arranged as above in O.E.: (*a*) The infinitive is dependent, as shown by the form of the verb, by a nominative form as subject, or by the meaning. (*b*) The infinitive is ambiguously dependent or subject, the sentence having a singular verb with a word or clause that may be either subject of the sentence or object of the infinitive. Here are placed many cases which no doubt have the dependent infinitive, certainly so to our present feeling, but which are in form ambiguous. (*c*) The infinitive is clearly subject.

(*a*) The infinitive is dependent.

Agreeable. Bo. II. p. 5, 98. yif the beautee be *agreeable to loken upon* (grata intuitu species).[2]

Best. Tr. V. 1847. *He best to love* is.

Tr. V. 301.

Blisful. A 3247. She was ful more *blisful on to see.*

Bright, cf. Clere.

Brotil. L. 1885. The trewest ys ful *brotil for to triste.*

I 473. fals and brotil.

Chargeaunt and anoyous. B 2433.

Clere and bright. R.A. 1084.

Convenient. I 421.

Dredful. Tr. V. 590.

Drye. R.A. 57. These wodes . . .

That *drie* in wynter *ben to sene.*

Ethe. Tr. V. 850.

Fair. A 1035, D 1245, Tr. I. 277, 454, II. 584, Bl. 1050, L. 2425, R.A. 41, 403, 644.[3]

[1] For the same interchange of dependent and subject infinitive in O.F., cf. Sörgel, p. 284.

[2] See note 5, p. 58.

[3] I think it likely that H.F. III. 215 belongs here: so *fair* hit was *to shewe.* Though *shewen* oftener means *appear* than *see* in M.E., the latter meaning of *sceawian* is common in O.E., and it is in just such stereotyped phrases as this that it would be likely to be preserved.

Fals, cf. Brotil.

Tr. V. 383. *To trowen* on, it bothe *fals* and *foule* is.[1]

Frendly. Tr. III. 358.[2]

Fressh. A 1048,[3] 2176, Tr. IV. 1155.

Foul. C 552, R.A. 972.

Gastly. A 1984.

Glorious. A 1955.

Goodlich. F 623.

Gracious and fair. E 613.

Grevous. I 692.

Grisly. A 1363.

Hard. Bo. IV. p. 4, 64. This conclusioun is *hard* aud *wonderful to graunte* (mira et *concessu* difficilis inlatio).

Hidous. A 1978, R.A. 158.

Hool. F 1111.

Lik. A 1301. he *lyk* was *to biholde*
The box tree.

L. 1206, 2649, Tr. II. 631, La. 156, F 271 (cf. p. 56).

Lusty. R.B. 4334.

Meke. A 3202.

Necessarie. Bo. IV. p. 1, 71.

Noyous. H.F. II. 66.

Pitous. Tr. III. 918. This accident so *petous* was *to here,*
And *ek so lyk a soth.*

A 1919, Tr. V. 555.

Possible. Damours, 16.

Profitable. Bo. V. p. 1, 19, I. p. 3, 83 (un-).

Redy. Tr. III. 530.

Riche. A 1911.

Round. R.A. 549.

Semely. A 1960, R.A. 586.

Smal. R.A. 1017.

Spedeful. B 727.

Swych. Tr. IV. 862.

[1] I class this example as unambiguous on the basis of the cæsural pause marked in Cl.

[2] *Frendly* is probably an adverb here. The adverb with infinitive is very rare, but there is nothing to prevent such a construction logically: "in a friendly manner to look at."

[3] Yclothed was she *fressh for to devyse.* Skeat and Pollard (Globe Ed.) punctuate after *fressh,* making *for to devyse* an absolute infinitive. It seems to me this is more like *fresh to see, beautiful to describe,* and similar phrases.

Wonderful, cf. Hard.

Wors. I 998. the wounde wolde be the *wors for to heele.*[1]

Worthy. A 3111, Tr. I. 91, H.F. II. 200, III. 348. Cf. R.B. 4532. Ne *worth* an appel *forto lowe.*

Because of similarity in the construction, several nouns showing the same possibility of interchangeable syntax are here recorded under adjectives.

The infinitive is dependent on an adjective-noun phrase.[2]

Fairest folk. R.A. 625.
Semely knyght. L. 2074.
Loud mynstralcye. E 1719.
Horrible tale. B 84.
Pitous tale. C 302.
Deedly thing. Tr. IV. 871.
Uncouth thing. H.F. III. 189.

(*b*) The infinitive either is dependent on the adjective (or noun) or is the subject of it. A large number of these cases are almost certainly examples of the dependent construction, but they are recorded here because the form itself is undecisive. On the other hand, in an example like

G 358. It were ful *hard* . . . *for to seyn*
How manye wondres Jesus . . . *wroghte,*

though the clause, *How* . . ., is doubtless object of the infinitive, it might originally have been subject. Cf. Beow. 2094, cited above, p. 50, note 1.[3] Such cases, with a clause as apparent object of the infinitive, are therefore recorded as ambiguous.

Adjectives.

Bet. B 1091. but it is *bet to deeme*
He wente hymself.

[1] Cf. Cura Past. 123, 18. *Sio wund* bið ðæs ðe *wyrse* (Gf. § 193).

[2] Cf. p. 58, 4.

[3] Cf. also Beow. 1725 (see p. 50, note 1), *wundor* is *to secganne, hu* . . ., and Be. 528, 10, þæt is *wundor to cweþanne* . . . (quod mirum *dictu* est) (Wf. p. 223), where the Latin original suggests the dependent construction. Cf. also θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι of Homer (e.g. *Odys.* XVII. 306). See B 2230, p. 54, below, where the clause precedes.

Best. A 3544. woostou what is *best to doone?*
B 2976, Tr. I. 96, 828, II. 696, 1485, IV. 679, V. 18, Bl. 29.
Encombrous. H.F. II. 354.[1]
Eythe. R.B. 3955.
Foul. Lb. 402.
Good.[2] B 2327, Bl. 43.
Grevous. I 529, Tr. IV. 1492, L. 1839.
Hard. E 851, G 358, 606, Tr. III. 938, 1357.
Hevy. R.A. 959.
Horrible. I 428.
Impossible. Tr. III. 1310.
Light. B 2230, G 838, Tr. IV. 1569, P.F. 553.
Bl. 526. *th'amendes* is *light to make.*[3]
Long, Longe.[4] P.F. 1.

[1] Cf. note 3. [2] Cf. Impersonals, p. 130, below.

[3] The plural noun with singular verb in this case does not remove the ambiguity. On the other hand, I venture to suggest that the frequent ambiguities of just this kind were an important factor in encouraging the use of plural subjects with singular verbs, especially the verb *be*.

[4] The examples with *long*(*e*) are puzzling. Aside from the fact of the usual ambiguity, the use of the adverb *longe*, with the possibility of apocopation (cf. Kittredge, § 135, II. (8)), the two forms of the adjective with and without *-e*, and the possible confusion in syntax between the adjective and adverb, all make the cases hard to classify.

(*a*) That the dependent construction existed, is shown, for example, by Old English: Be. 532, 11. ðа ðe nu *to lang to secgenne syndon* (Wf. p. 204); Chaucer,

P.F. 1. the craft *so long to lerne.*

To our present feeling, this is certainly the construction of many of the Chaucer cases where the form does not decide; e.g. B 4339:

But thilke tale is al *to longe to telle.*

Such cases are, however, classed below (*c*) as ambiguous. But cf. L. 1921:

that *tale were to longe* as now for me.

(*b*) The infinitive is clearly subject of *longe* as an adjective predicate in A 994:

But it were al *to longe for to devyse*
The grete clamour.

Even this example, however, can be accounted for as possibly a direct descendant of the dependent construction, when we remember the more general use of *it* in older English to throw the subject after the verb, so that *the grete clamour* might conccivably once have been subject. Cf. Tr. I. 860:

Were *it* for my suster *al thy sorwe;*
P.F. 155. *hit* stondeth writen in thy face
Thyn errour,

and many other similar examples, often punctuated by editors (Skeat, e.g., in the passages quoted) so as to disguise the construction. Cf. The Fire of Frendraught, A, st. 2:

Then out *it came* her false *Frendraught;*
C, st. 4. Then out *it spake* the gude *Lord John*
(Kittredge and Sargent, pp. 478, 479).

Cases are frequent in Chaucer.

Necessarie. I 321.

Resonable. R.C. 6019.[1]

Mixed constructions:

R.A. 555. Ther nys a *fairer nekke*, iwys,
To fele how smothe and softe it is.[2]
(Polis iert et soef *au tast.*)

L. 953.

Nouns.

Abusioun. I 445.

Charge. L. 2383.

L. 616. The weddyng and the feste *to devyse*
To me . . .
Yt were *to longe.*

H.F. III. 264. But hit were alle *to longe to rede*
The names.

Cf. Maundeville (Mtz. *Spr.* II. 2, p. 221, 17): *of here variance* were *to longe to telle.*

(*c*) The following cases are ambiguous in form:

Old English.

Bo. 334, 1. ðeah hit me *lang to lærenne sie* (Wf. p. 204).

Chaucer.

A 875. if it nere *to long to heere.*
E 52. The which a *longe thyng* were to *devyse.*

Tr. III. 495, L. 572, 1185, 1565, 1679, H.F. I. 249–51, 381, 446, Bo. IV. p. 4, 45 (quod expectare longum . . . putet), R.C. 7210.

(*d*) In the following cases there may be a confusion with the adverb (cf. Kittredge, §§ 49, 82). Cf.

Tr. II. 1595. lest ye *to longe dwelle.*
Bl. 217. Hit were *to longe for to dwelle.*
P.F. 661. A yeer is not *so longe to endure.*
Tr. V. 353. Ten dayes nys *so longe not tabyde.*
E 1696. I trowe it were *to longe* yow *to tarie*
If I yow tolde of every scrit and bond.

Tr. I. 144, Tr. V. 1484, H.F. I. 252. Cf. H.F. III. 363:
To make yow *to longe to dwelle,*

where the adverb is certain.

In the following case *longe* is adverb, but the construction is different, the infinitive being predicate:

A 784. Oure conseil was nat *longe for to seche*

= did not have to be looked for long. Cf. Predicate Infinitive, pp. 133 ff., below.

[1] The same ambiguity between subject infinitive and dependent is found with a few adverbs. It must be said, however, that if the infinitive is subject and the adverb predicate, the latter is essentially equivalent to an adjective, in sense, if not in form.

A 4196. it had been *to late for to crie.*
Tr. II. 1291. it were ek *to soone*
To graunten hym so gret a liberte.
Tr. V. 743. *To late* is now *to specke* of this matere.

[2] Cf. Conditional Infinitive, pp. 83 ff., below.

Fantasye. Tr. IV. 1469.
Foly. R.B. 4455.
Game. H.F. III. 384.
Hevene. F 558. an *hevene for to see.*
Cf. F 271. *lyk an hevene for to heere.*
Jape. R.A. 11.
Joye. B 1956. That *joye* it was *to heere.*
Tr. II. 817, III. 217, 1228, Bl. 325, Lb. 140.
Mervaile. Tr. I. 476, Bo. IV. p. 2, 202.
Pitee. A 2878. he weep that *pitee* was *to heere.*
A 2345, F 1428, H.F. I. 180, Bl. 107, C.M. 135.
Routhe. A 913, B 1052, F 1349, L. 1034, 1311.
Shame. Tr. III. 249, R.C. 7287.
Solas. R.A. 1378.
Wonder. B 408, 1882, 2924, G 560, L. 1147, P.F. 329.[1]

Adjective-noun phrases.

Noble game. Tr. II. 647.
Lusty sighte. A 2116.
Litel sorwe. Tr. III. 1093.
Bihovely thyng. I 387.
Unworthy thing. Bo. V. p. 6, 313.
Wonder thing. R.A. 1114.

(*c*) The infinitive is clearly subject. Compare

Tr. I. 277, That *art* so *fair and goodly to devyse*, with D 439, it is *fair to have* a wyf in pees.

It is conceivable that the latter could grow out of the construction, *a wyf is fair to have*, and this interchange is, in general, possible when the meaning of the adjective is suitable and the infinitive is transitive. It is obvious that this sort of subject infinitive, when once established, would in no way be distinguished from the general category of infinitive as subject of nouns, adjectives, and impersonal and other verbs in cases where no

[1] For a mixed construction, cf. Wyclif, p. 99. þei ben a *spectacle* to angelis and men *to wonder on here cursed pride.*

such interchange with the dependent infinitive is to be thought of. The main body of examples is therefore treated with the subject infinitive, pp. 112 ff., below. The following selected examples will serve to illustrate the relation of the present section (*c*) to the dependent infinitive:

Adjectives.

Bl. 844. hit were *beter serve hir.*
B 2845. it is nat *good to bigynne werre.*
E 1164. It were ful *hard to fynde* . . .
. . . *Griseldis* three or two.

Nouns.

Tr. II. 637. It was an *hevene upon hym for to se.*
B 4067. A *joye* was it *to here hem synge.*

3. As with the infinitive after nouns, so after adjectives, the noun to which the adjective belongs sustains to the infinitive various relations besides that of subject or object, expressing means, time, place, or depending (logically) on an expressed preposition. As they are not numerous, the various kinds are placed here together.

Old English.

Cf. Be. 571, 8. ðа gemette he sume *gerisenne* stowe on Hibernia mynster *on to timbrianne.*[1]

Old French.

B. Chr. II. 13230. Que *de joie e de fin' amor*
Seront *a vostre plaisir faire* (S. p. 282).

Chaucer.

Tr. IV. 1513. And, vulgarly to speken of substaunce,
Of tresour may we bothe with us lede
Ynowh to lyve in honour and pleasaunce.

[1] This example illustrates the relation of place expressed by a preposition, but belongs more exactly to the following category, p. 58, 4, below.

Tr. IV. 1266. For there is *art ynow for to redresse*[1]
That yet is mys and *slen* this hevynesse.
D 1. Experience . . .
. . . were right *ynogh* to me
To speke of wo that is in mariage.
E 1970. tyme *fortunaat*
Was, *for to putte* a bille of Venus werkes.

I 708,[2] 1051.[3]

I 1066. hym semeth thanne *tymely*[4] ynough *to come* to shrifte.

A 1082. That art so *pale* and *deedly on to see*.[5]

R.A. 653. So *good inne for to dwelle or be*.

4. An adjective preceding its noun takes the infinitive after the phrase, the infinitive depending on both together. See the O.E. example on p. 57, and cf. the following:

Old English.

Be. 487, 37. hi hæfdon *gearo mod* ðа wiðerweardan ge eac swylce deaþ sylfne *to ðrowienne* (Wf. p. 197).

Scop, 143. Se hæfde . . . leohtoste hond lofes to wyrceanne (Mtz. *Gr.* II. p. 44).

Old French.

B. Chr. II. 12741. De *cler engin* fu *a oïr*
E de *bon sen a retenir* (S. p. 282).[6]

Chaucer.

The noun may bear the same relations to the infinitive as the separate noun or adjective followed by the infinitive.

A 369. Wel semed ech of hem a *fair burgeys*
To sitten in a yelde halle.

[1] *Art* may possibly be logical subject of *for to redresse*.
[2] Cf. Accusative with Infinitive, pp. 147 ff.
[3] Cf. 4, below.
[4] Skeat (Glossary) makes *tymely* an adjective. It is possibly an adverb.
[5] I have included several examples like this in 2, pp. 49 ff. Strictly they belong here, but they were placed there as illustrating the dependent infinitive. Besides, *to look at*, and the like, are essentially transitive verbs.
[6] For further examples of the kind in O.F. and M.E., cf. Soltmann, p. 406, Sörgel, p. 282, Einenkel, p. 244. *Thing* in M.E. and *chose* in O.F. are especially common in this construction.

R.B. 2793. *Swete thought for to recorde*
Thing.
Tr. II. 74. yn *good plyht* was the mone
To don viage.
Tr. II. 851. This is the *righte lyf* that I am inne
To flemen alle manere vice and synne.
A 751, B 2782, C 932, G 419, Bo. IV. m. 6, 44, p. 6, 13, Scog. 32.

CHAPTER V.

THE INFINITIVE OF RESULT.

IMMEDIATELY related to the infinitive denoting various degrees of purpose after verbs, nouns, and adjectives, is the infinitive denoting result after verbs, nouns, and adjectives. The two categories are not fundamentally different, but the syntax depends on the context and on the standpoint of the speaker or writer. As the preposition *to* in other prepositional phrases denotes all grades from inception to consequence, so it does with the infinitive; and *for to* is used analogously. The degree to which the idea of result is present, depends on the feeling as to the certainty of the fulfilment of the purpose expressed by the infinitive, and this often depends on the implication of the context. The following classification therefore includes some illustrative examples that might properly be classed under purpose.[1]

[1] For a similar wavering, in Greek, between the notions of purpose and result, cf. Burton's *Syntax of the Moods in New Testament Greek*, pp. 92–95. Here he discusses clauses of so-called *conceived result* after ἵνα, where the expected result, expressed by the final particle ἵνα, may be conceived of sometimes as hypothetical and sometimes as real. He cites as examples John 9. 2 and 1 Thess. 5. 4. It may be noted that, though both these passages have ἵνα with the subjunctive, the King James version renders the first as actual result: "that he was born blind," and the second by the purpose form of expression: "that that day should overtake you as a thief."

Compare also our common mode of expressing result with a purpose formula: "What did you do, *in order to* take such a cold?"

Old English.

Since result is closely related to purpose, the O.E. usage involves no marked difference from the infinitive of purpose. One or two examples are here given which seem more distinctly to suggest result.

Be Domes Dæge, 186. nænig spræc mæg beon spellum *areccan* ænigum on eorðan earmlice witu (cited as result by Höser, p. 38).

C.P. 262, 18. hie sculon uparisan and *weaxan* a ma and ma *to lufianne* ða godcundan weorc (ad amoris gratiam . . . excrescant) (Wf. p. 215).

Be. 569, 22. þæt he eorþbigengan *awecce* hine *to ondrædanne* (ut terrigenas ad timendum se suscitet) (Wf. p. 217).

Ælfr., S.L. XVII. 78. ne galdras *ne sece*, *to gremigenne* his scyppend.

The expression of result was not confined in O.E. to the infinitive. It was often—perhaps more often than by the infinitive—expressed by *to* with abstract nouns of action, a usage that still survives. Cf. "He will do that *to his sorrow*." Here, as with the infinitive, only the context and circumstances distinguish from purpose. For numerous examples of purpose phrases, many of which can express result, see Shearin, pp. 33–41.

Old French.

Tr. 13594. Mes ne vos *ai* pas *coneü*
A doner vos si tost m'amor (S. p. 296).

Tr. 14111. N'*est* pas *bleciez a mehaignier*
N'*a l'estor guerpir* ne *lessier* (S. p. 296).

Of these Sörgel says, "Nicht mehr die blosse Bewegung nach etwas hin, sondern zugleich den Abschluss derselben bezeichnet die Präposition."

Chaucer.

1. Compare Infinitive of Purpose, p. 10, head-note, at the end. First are recorded here several examples of

purpose approaching the sense of result. Afterwards follow the more distinct cases of result. The examples of the first kind shade into those of the second.

E 659. if I *hadde prescience*
Your wyl *to knowe.*

E 1627. Which mayde . . . he *wolde han* to his wyf
To lede in ese . . . his lyf.

G 376. They gonnen fro the tormentours *to reve*
. . . . .
The false feith, *to trowe* in God allone.

A 1424. he was *long and big of bones*
To doon that any wight can hym devyse.

A 518. But in his techyng *discreet and benygne*
To drawen folk to hevene by fairnesse.[1]

C 205. his deere doghter *yeven*
Unto the juge, in lecherie *to lyven.*

R. B. 2000. Which to no vilayn *was never couthe*
Forto aproche it ne *forto touche.*

Fortune, 9. Yit *is me left the light of my resoun*
To knowen frend.

P. F. 698. That I *shal mete som thing for to fare*
The bet.

Tr. II. 1021. *speke* of the *somwhat* . . .
. . . *to do* thyne eeres glowe.

Tr. I. 187. no *devocioun*
Hadde he to noon, to reven hym his reste.

R. B. 3496. On me ne *wolde have pite*
His cruel will *forto refreyne.*

Bo. I. p. 5, 80. thilke passiouns . . . mowen *wexen esy and softe to resceiven* the strengthe of a more mighty . . . medicine.

Tr. IV. 985. yf there *myghte ben a variaunce*
To writhen out fro Goddes purveyinge.[2]

Bo. II. m. 5, 21. they ne *hadde seyn* yit none newe strondes *to leden* marchandyse into dyverse contrees.

[1] In such cases after adjectives it is especially hard to distinguish between purpose and result. Cf.

Lb. 377. Him oghte nat be *tiraunt ne crewel*
As is a fermour, *to doon* the harme he can.

[2] Cf. Apposition, p. 143, below.

R. B. 3420. Of me *have mercy and pitee*
To stynte your ire.
Tr. V. 972. And that ye *koude wel youre lady serve*
I trowe ek wel, here thank *for to deserve.*
Tr. III. 440.
L. 2047. ther *shal no man me knowe,*
To han my lyf and *for to han* presence
Of yow.
Tr. V. 1578. but he *may not contrefete*
To ben unknowen of folk that weren wyse.
Tr. V. 1289. How *myght I thanne do . . .*
To knowe of this.
Tr. III. 612. that *koude best devyse*
To liken her.
Tr. I. 692. som *wyght tryste*
Thi wo *to telle.*
G 464. that I *reneye innocence*
To make me a wikked wight.
R. B. 5119. *maist lyve* the tyme to *se.*[1]
(Se tu pues encore *tant vivre.*)
R. C. 7582. *Have I therfore herberd yowe*
To seye me shame, and eke *reprove?*[2]
Tr. II. 1443. *comen was of kynde*
To al honour and bounte *to consente.*
Tr. IV. 1662. *stonde of plesaunce in degre*
To quyte hym wel.

2. The infinitive after verbs of causing and the l
with an object besides the infinitive, easily passes
result. Cf. p. 18, above, head-note II.

G 744. Thanne he *exciteth* oother folk *therto,*
To lesen hir good as he hymself hath do.
C 137. He wiste he *myghte hire nevere wynne,*
As *for to maken* hire with hir body synne.
I 244. *enlumyne and lightne the herte* of the synful man *to*
repentaunce.

[1] Cf. Purpose Infinitive, II. 1, pp. 20 ff.
[2] This is an excellent example of the assumed actual result cast in the fo
a purpose.

H.F. I. 78. *wolde me spede*
My swevene *for to telle* aryght.

Ast. II. 4, 32. the lorde of the assendent *may be shapen for to be* fortunat.

R.B. 4527. me *conveied*, thurgh my praiere,
To entre into that faire verger.

R.A. 346. his herte *in temper bringe*
To make joye.

3. In the following examples with *eylen*, the sense of result has become specialized so as to be regarded as a kind of symptom to explain the cause of the state expressed by the governing verb *eylen*.

B 1171. What *eyleth* the man so sinfully *to swere?*
B 1975, 4080, D 357, 443, H 16, Tr. II. 211, IV. 331, Bl. 449, La. 311; B 1289, D 281.

A similar sense is expressed by the following:

R.B. 3832. To me thou *haddist no rewarde*
To truste . . .
Hym thus.[1]

C.L. 37. Now *hath* not Love *me bestowed weel*,
To love ther I never shal have part?

Tr. IV. 187. what gost *may yow enspire*,
This womman thus *to shilde?*[2]

4. When some modifying word is used to emphasize that quality of a noun or adjective, or that action of the verb, which is suited to a certain end expressed by the infinitive, that end or purpose may easily pass into the sense of result. Words of this kind are *so, such, enough*, and the like. Compare

R.B. 2917. Parte of her blisse to hym they *sende*,
Of al this harme *to make* an ende.

[1] MS. *this*.
[2] The last two examples combine the syntax of 2 with the sense of 3. For similar sense, cf. also p. 64, Tr. V. 1685, and R.B. 3727, and Infinitive of Cause, (c), p. 74, below.

Here it is expressed as purpose.

Cf. vv. 2919 ff. The eye is a good messangere,
Which can to the herte in *such* manere
Tidyngis sende . . .
To voide hym of his peynes clene.

Here it is conceived result.

Cf. v. 2923 f. Whereof the herte rejoiseth *soo*
That a gret partye of his woo
Is voided . . .

Here it is actual result.

Adjectives with *so.*

Boold. A 4271. Who dorste be *so boold to disparage.*

Tr. V. 1685. *So cruwel* wende I not youre herte ywys
To sle me thus.

C 339, L. 879, C.M. 35.

Daungerous.

R.B. 3726. Sir, what is the cause
Ye ben of port *so daungerous*
Unto this lover and deynous
To graunte hym nothyng but a kisse?

Hardy. B 3093, E 1180, Tr. II. 1073; A 1711, C.L. 90.

Mad. Tr. IV. 393.

Open. B 2813.

Ny. A 1526.

Nyce. H.F. I. 276, R.C. 5945. fool ne nyce.

Trewe. L. 800.[1]

Worldly. A 292.[2]

With *ynogh.*

Discreet. E 75. *Discreet ynogh*[3] his contree *for to gye.*

[1] The infinitive here may simply specify the application of *trewe* without denoting result, so that the sense is *so trewe-to-trusten* rather than *so-trewe* [*as*] *to-trusten.*

[2] For a similar sense of result to that seen in the above cases, compare the following with adjective unmodified:

Lydg. R.S. 1797. And by his syde he had a swerde
Sharpe to shave a mannys berde.

[3] Here the sense of purpose is still prominent.

Adjective and noun.

So greet travayle.

Tr. II. 1437. to have *so gret travayle*
To han som of youre bretheren here.[1]

So hy a grace. Venus, 66.

Such a grace. R.B. 3207.

Which magik. H.F. III. 179.

Verbs.

H.F. II. 465. *flee so hye*
. . . . .
To passen everiche element.

Tr. III. 1760, R.B. 5019.

A similar construction with *so*, *that*, etc., does not denote so much a result as merely a comparison. The infinitive action is equated with a noun or verb. This sense is often combined, however, with the idea of result.

Tr. III. 139. me *so muche honoure*
Me *to comaunden* ought yn ony owre.

D 962. She nolde do *that vileynye or synne*
To make hir housbonde han so foul a name.[2]

G 530, Tr. I. 586, III. 867, V. 314; C 612.

The latter construction occurs once with *so-as*.

Tr. III. 633. To don myn herte as now *so gret an ese*
As for to dwelle here.

The following example without *so* seems to show result:

Tr. III. 1642. Ne I nyl not *rakle as for to greven* here.[3]

[1] This example well illustrates the similarity of this kind of result with mere comparison, as shown in Tr. III. 139, above. Cf. also Tr. II. 1432:

don *this honour* to me
To prayen here . . .

In Tr. II. 1437 the sense may be *the labor which brings about* the result, or *the labor of bringing it about*. In the second case it can only be the latter, *the honor of praying*, etc.

[2] Here the two ideas of comparison and result are probably both present.

[3] I find no other case of the infinitive of result in Chaucer with *as* in the apodosis. The first case from the Troilus is clearly not result. The earliest case of *as* + infinitive of result in *N.E.D.* is 1662 (I. p. 479 b, 20). *So – as* + a

The use of certain intensifying adverbs, chiefly *too*, indicates that the conceived result will *not* follow. Though to our present feeling the infinitive depends on *too*, this adverb is not necessary, and the construction is probably only a specialization of the purpose construction with adjectives. As the infinitive denotes the end to which the quality of some adjectives is fitted, so with others it denotes that end to which they are not fitted. Compare *ready to go* with *weary to go*. Intensify each adjective with *too*, and we have still the same difference of sense, only more emphatic: *too ready to go* makes the infinitive action more likely to follow, while *too weary to go* implies that what was before unlikely or unfavourable, is now certain not to happen. Accordingly the Chaucer examples fall into two classes: those in which the adjective is unfavourable to the conceived result, and therefore the latter does not follow; and those cases in which the adjective is favourable to the result and the sense is conceived or actual result.

(1) First, certain adjectives without the intensive take the infinitive with an implication of negative result.

R.B. 4737. A strengthe *weyked to stonde* upright,
i.e. "too weak to stand."

---

clause of result is recorded from 1460. Cf. Caxton, Jason, 23 (1475). The raynes of his horse faylled . . . *in suche wise as he tumbled*, the hede under (*N.E.D.* ib., 19 b). Compare the way in which such a clause of comparison (where clause is compared with clause, action with action) with the indicative passes into the modern result clause, while a similar clause of comparison with the subjunctive remains hypothetical and becomes a conditional clause—*as if*, etc. A stereotyped case—*as it were*—has, however, been retained as a formula for comparison.

I suggest that the use of *as* with the infinitive to denote result may be due in part to its earlier use in the apodosis of finite and infinitive clauses of comparison. The close connection of the two I have noted; cf. also Pall. III. 1204:

And *so* Crist Jesu do me fro myschaunce
As heer in this matier noo wordis *spille*,

in which the ideas of comparison and result are both present.

For a clause of purpose cast in the form of a comparison, cf. Tr. III. 979:

and *fond his contenaunce*
As for to loke upon an old romaunce.

R.A. 490. The gardeyn was not *daungerous*
To herberwe briddes.

H.F. I. 251. Hyt were a *longe processe to telle.*[1]

Cf. First English Petition to Parliament: owre lyge Lordes comaundement . . . is a *gret thyng to ben* used so familerlich withouten nede.[2]

(2) Other adverbs besides *too* may be used.

Bl. 900. my spirits be *so dulle*
So greet a thing *for to devyse.*

P.F. 1. The lyf so short, the craft *so long to lerne.*[3]

(3) With *too.*[4]

D 1480. thy wit is al *to bare*
To understonde.

Tr. II. 725. *To wys* is he *to do* so gret a vice.

G 1299, An. 338, R.A. 1177, Tr. III. 867; E 1736, Tr. II. 132.[5]

On the other hand, when the adjective is naturally favourable to the conceived purpose or result, the addition of *too* does not change the syntax.

Tr. III. 88. Or was *to bold, to synge* a fol a masse.

[1] This is cited on the assumption that *to telle* is dependent, not subject. I feel no doubt that most of the cases with *to long* belong in the present category. See the list, p. 54, note 4, above, with the discussion of the ambiguity of forms.
For negative result without an intensive, cf. Macbeth, I. iv. 17:

That swiftest wing of recompense is *slow*
To overtake thee.

[2] Emerson, *Mid. Eng. Reader*, p. 235, 15.

[3] The last case is, perhaps, purpose rather than negative result; but the nearness to result is evident. Cf. also Ast. Pr. 51. curious endyting and hard sentence is *ful hevy* atones for swich a child *to lerne.*

[4] Cf. note 1.

[5] Einenkel (p. 244) says, "Der Infinitiv des Zweckes findet sich auch nach den von *to* (N.E. *too*) begleiteten Adjectiven: . . . Nur ein Beleg; für einen zweiten, mit reinem Infinitiv, siehe oben, p. 239, A. 7. Vielleicht auch nach den von *as* und *so* begleiteten, doch fanden sich hier keine Beispiele." Neither of the cases cited belongs here. See below, p. 74. There are, on the contrary, at least eight examples of *too* + adjectives denoting negative result, not counting the ambiguous cases mentioned on p. 54, note 4. If by "*as* und *so*" Einenkel means *as* correlated with *so*, his count agrees with mine so far as denoting *result* is concerned; though there remains the one case of comparison with *so – as* cited on p. 65. And there are in addition at least twenty cases of *so . . . infinitive* denoting result, and three denoting a comparison; and two cases of *too + adjective + infinitive* denoting purpose or affirmative result.

R.B. 3684. A man shulde nat *to moche* assaye,
To chafe his frende,

i.e. "so much as to chafe."

(L'en ne doit mie homme enchaucier
Outre son gre, n'engoissier trop.)[1]

CHAPTER VI.

THE INFINITIVE OF CAUSE.

CERTAIN adjectives, nouns, and verbs, denoting states or actions of the mind, such as *glad*, *delight*, *rejoice*, are capable, in Chaucer, of either active senses, denoting *eagerness*, *desire*, or passive, as *happiness*, *pleasure*. Some words like *delit* in Chaucer seem to have had the active sense of *desire* which are at present only passive, denoting simply *pleasure*. In connection with the infinitive such words are capable of three classes of meaning, according to whether the infinitive points to the future, is contemporaneous with the state or action of its governing word, or represents an action or state previous to that of the word it depends on. E. g. *glad to go* may conceivably refer to a journey not yet taken, to one in progress, or to one completed. In the first case the infinitive is fundamentally that of purpose. In the second, it may simply specify the application of the governing word. In the last, the

[1] Cf. Lydg. R.S. 4082. be not *to bolde*
To entre into that gardyn.

Rolle (Mtz. I. 2, p. 149), l. 2. be þou noghte *to besy to kepe* it, i.e. "too eager to keep it." Cf. l. 16. þat þou hyng nogt *to lange* þareappone ouþer *for to put* þe fra thi mete or thi slepe . . . i.e. "so as to put," etc.

H.F. III. 708 is somewhat different in that it does not suggest result, but simply the fitting end toward which the quality of the adjective *good* is directed, without implying whether that purpose will be fulfilled or not. Here *too* unites with the context in making the sense of the adjective unfavourable to the end in view.

infinitive action is the cause of the action or state of the governing word. Naturally it is impossible to say which of these three categories many of the cases below should be classed with.

This close relation to the infinitive of purpose makes it difficult to produce O.E. examples differing clearly from those denoting purpose. In O.F., however, there are some original distinctions in the use of *à*, *de*, and *por* in such constructions.[1]

Old English.

Gefeon takes the simple infinitive, but it may as well be complementary as causal in conception.

Be. 648, 28. ðysses mynstres, on ðam ic *gefeo* ðeowian ðære upplican arfæstnesse (Wf. p. 195).

I find in Wülfing no cases of the prepositional infinitive that can be distinctly treated as causal.

Old French.

On the other hand, causal relations in O.F. are frequent, growing out of the original functions of *à* and *de* to denote source and means.[2]

Rou, III. 9954. *E de mal faire esteit cremuz* (S. p. 297).

Raoul, 7023. Molt par *se furent a chasploier grevés* (S. p. 297).[3]

Chaucer.

1. The infinitive after nouns, adjectives, and verbs denoting *pleasure* or *displeasure*.

(*a*) Cases in which the governing word has an active sense, and the infinitive action points to the future in the manner of a complementary infinitive. These

[1] It will, of course, be noted that by the term *causal infinitive* reference is not intended to such a construction as "What went ye out for to see?" where the infinitive denotes *final cause*, i. e. purpose. *Causal* is here used in the sense of a previous or contemporaneous cause. It is of course true that one of these easily passes into the other, and this fact lies at the bottom of the close relation between the present category and that of ordinary purpose, pointing to the future.

[2] Cf. Lachmund, p. 33, 3; Diez, III. p. 241, 4; Sörgel, pp. 296 ff.

[3] For interchange between subject infinitive and causal infinitive in O.F., see below, p. 75.

infinitives do not denote cause, but are inserted here in illustration of the following sections.[1]

Agast. L. 1534. he was *agast*
To love, and *for to speke shamefast.*

Agroteyd. L. 2454. I am *agroteyd* here biforne
To write of hem.

Ashamed. B 2262 (anticipatory). he shall nat *been ashamed to lerne* hem.
Tr. II. 1047.

Delit. Tr. V. 138.[2]

Dispit. H.F. III. 626, I 395, F 1395.

Fayn. D 220 (blisful and fawe), E 2017, G 591, C. L. 77, An. 315.

Glad. D 1348, E 967.

Joye and hope. A 2435. *joye and hope wel to fare.*[3]

Loth. Tr. V. 21.[4]

Mys-foryeven. Tr. IV. 1425.

Routhe. L. 1344. I may not write,
So grete *routhe* I have hit *for to endite.*

Wery. L. 2257. But, shortly of this story for to passe,
For I am *wery* of him *for to telle*,
Fyve yere his wyfe and he togedir dwelle.[5]

(*b*) Ambiguous cases, in which it is difficult to determine whether the infinitive has a complementary or a causal relation to the governing word, the latter being either active or passive in sense.

[1] The nouns and adjectives of (*a*) are therefore recorded in the categories of nouns and adjectives with the infinitive, and the verbs, under complementary infinitive. See above, pp. 38 ff., 47 ff., and below, pp. 88 ff.

[2] Cf. I 293.: consentynge of *affeccioun*, whan a man is moeved to do synne and deliteth hym . . ., and yet his resoun refreyneth nat his *foul delit* or *talent*. . . . L. 1380. save foule *delyte*, which that thou callest *love*. F 1372. *to fulfille* hir foul *delit*. Also Pearl, 1129. *Delit* þe Lombe for to deuise. Cf. 1153–55.

[3] Here the infinitive may depend on *hope* only; but *joye* seems to be likewise anticipatory.

[4] The active sense does not here depend on whether *loth* is used impersonally.

[5] Note that this is at the beginning of the tale of Tereus. I take the meaning to be, "I dislike to tell about him because of his horrible sins"—merely a conventional remark. Cf. R. C. 6898. That ben not *wery to seye* wele
But *to do wel*, no *will have they*,
also, Conf. Am. VII. 3673 [The story of Gideon]:
And him which *wery is to swinke*,
Upon his wombe and lith to drinke,
Forsak.
The last example shows clearly that in M.E. *wery* + infinitive did not need to denote *fatigue from* a thing, but as well could mean *disinclination toward* it.

Agrysen. H.F. I. 210.

Ashamed. I 1061, cf. R. B. 5240.

Blisse. P. F. 377.

Blythe. Tr. V. 1383. was ther nevere herte yet so *blythe*
To han his lyf, as I shal ben as swythe
As I yow se.

Deliten, delit. D 945,[1] 2044, Tr. I. 704, II. 256, 709, H. F. III. 741, La. 30, Lb. 415.

Deyntee. B 139. every wight *hath deyntee to chaffare*
With hem.[2]

Glad, gladen. D 391, E 375, 1004, Tr. I. 300, III. 647, IV. 809, Lb. 51, L. 961, 1223, Bo. II., p. 2, 58 (mutare gaudemus), V. m. 5, 10 (Haec pressisse solo vestigia gressibusque gaudent), R. B. 3872, 3898.

Glorifye. Tr. II. 1593.

Joye. An. 80, Tr. V. 118, R. B. 2629.

Pitee. B 1067, R. B. 4271, Bl. 97.[3]

Pleasaunce (cacchen, haven, taken). E 792,[4] 993, Damours, 48.

Rejoysen. Bo. I. m. 5, 51 (gaudent subdere), I. p. 5, 23 (depulsione laetatur).

Sory. Tr. V. 1082.

Wery. I 1042. and it [paternoster] is short . . . for a man sholde be the lasse *wery to seyen* it, and . . . may nat excusen him to lerne it.[5]

E 1291, Tr. V. 273.[6]

[1] This should perhaps be classed under (*a*).

[2] Perhaps this belongs in (*a*). Cf. Barbour, Bruce, XII. 159. Than all ran into gret *dantee* The erll of Murreff *for till se* (*N. E. D.* s. v. dainty, 2.), and Pecock, Repr. I. xiii. 66. The reeding in the Bible . . . drawith the reders . . . fro *love* and *deinte of the world* (*N. E. D.* ibid.).

[3] The word *pitee* apparently was capable of taking a complementary infinitive as well as a causal one. Cf. Sörgel, p. 286. Cf. the modern *take pity on.*

[4] E 792. *I hadde ynogh plesance*
To han yow to my wyf . . .

I am inclined to interpret this, "I wished to have you, etc." Compare, Et la prend *sa plaisance A gouverner*, with Céstoit *une plaisance De veoir* (God. VI. 191). Cf. also E 964. and *setten plesaunce*, Bal. Ch. Made, 4, Compleynte, 14.

[5] This seems to mean *not hesitate to say it*, rather than *become weary from saying it.* Still it is ambiguous. Cf. Wyclif, p. 202, schorte wordis & moche witt, for men schulden not be *hevy ne excusen* hem *fro kunnynge* & seiynge þer-of; and Ayenb. p. 99, ssort vor þet non ne ssolde him *werye* hit *vor to lyerny.* An vor þan þet non ne ssolde him *tyeny* hit *vor to zigge gledliche an ofte.* In the latter example, the adverbs *gledliche an ofte* preclude the causal infinitive.

[6] In a sentence like Crist, 1556, Ne *bisorgaȝ* he synne *to fremman*, it is hard to say whether we have a complementary, or a true causal infinitive. Such an example in O.F. would be explicable as causal, with *à* or *de* + infinitive, on the ground of the original meaning of the preposition itself, but hardly so in O.E.

(*c*) The infinitive of cause; cases in which the action or state of the governing word is passive and may be conceived as growing out of the infinitive as cause, source, means, and the related ideas.

Delit. R. B. 1851.
Evele apayed.
Tr. IV. 642. she wol ben *evele apayed*
To ravysshen here.
Fayn. Tr. V. 192. And seyde, "O dere doughter myn, welcome!"
She seyde, ek, she was *fayn* with hym *to mete.*
L. 1137. *blysful is and fayne*
To seen his yonge sone [who had just arrived].
Glad. R. B. 4662. *Glad to have* sich a lord
(*dont tu as* si bon mestre).
R. A. 122, R. B. 2015.
Joye. Tr. V. 588.
Plesed. R. B. 3008.
Rejoysen. Bo. II. p. 5, 116. ben sory yif thou lese hem, or . . . *rejoysen thee to holden* hem (vel amissis doleas, vel laeteris retentis).
Wepen. Tr. IV. 1620, L. 2279.
Wroth. R. C. 6466 (Quant [il] perdent lor . . . bestes).

2. With other predicates besides those denoting mental states (*like* and *dislike*, etc.) the infinitive denotes cause, source, means, and the related ideas.

(*a*) Tr. IV. 727. a man *is esed for to fele*
For ache of hed to clawen hym on his hele.[1]
H.F. III. 143. *famous*, olde and yonge,
. . . . .
To lerne love-daunces.

It may be that in many such cases in O.E. the present object of the infinitive (*synne*) was originally object of the main verb (*bisorgað*), so that the infinitive could have its natural purpose force, as further explication. But in both O.F. and O.E., constructions like this with verbs of *dislike*, *sorrowing*, etc., would easily arise by analogy of words like *desire* + infinitive.

[1] I prefer this interpretation, viz. "is eased by feeling some one claw him on the heel," to that of Einenkel (p. 243), "is esed in feeling by (means of) clawing hym (self) on his heele."

It is true that the infinitive with *to* is not common with *felen* in M.E. But cases of the prepositional infinitive occur with verbs of the class of *see*, *hear*, *feel*, etc. *Feel* occurs twice in Pecock's Repressor with *to* + the infinitive: 37, 10; 448, 15 (Zickner, p. 67).

H.F. III. 159. That in her tyme *famous* were
To lerne.
Tr. III. 198. *shal bere the belle*
To speke of love.
Bl. 99. I *ferde the worse* . . .
. . . *to thenken* on her sorwe.
R.A. 888. But of his robe *to devise*
I drede *encombred forto be.*
(Mes de sa robe devisier
Criens durement qu'encombré soie.)
Tr. II. 1108. And she *to laughe* it thought here herte *brest.*[1]
Tr. III. 1661. Was nevere *ful to speke* of this matere
And *for to preyse.*[2]
Tr. II. 368. *wondren to se* hym.
E 337. *astoned To seen.*
I 598. *tremblen to heeren.*
I 967, R.C. 6656.[3]

(*b*) The relation of infinitive to predicate approaches that of means.

A 184. *make hymselven wood*
Upon a book in cloystre alwey *to poure.*
A 610. His lord wel koude he *plesen* subtilly
To yeve and *lene* hym of his owene good.
A 3047, G 1476, Tr. I. 47, III. 773, An. 273, R.B. 2149, 4392, 4600, Venus, 26–31.[4]

[1] That is, "she thought her heart was bursting for laughter." This interpretation, which agrees with M.E. grammar, and is supported by Cl. and Cp. among other MSS., is corroborated by a passage in v. 1168 exactly parallel in idea and in situation:

And made here so to laughe at his folye,
That she *for laughter* wende for to dye.

For further discussion, see below, p. 80, and p. 130, note 1.

[2] Cf. Orm. 10221. wurþen *full to winnen.*

[3] R.C. 6656. He [God] wolde not therfore that *he lyve,*
To serven hym, *in mendience.*
(Por ce ne vuet il pas qu'il vive,
Por li servir, in mendience.)
I take this to mean, "He would not that he live in beggary on account of serving him." Michel reads *de li servir.*

[4] Directly from the French. Cf. Skeat, Vol. I. p. 401.

(*c*) The infinitive sometimes forms the basis of a judgment expressed in the governing word or predicate.[1]

B 3712. I am *to nyce*
To sette a man that is fulfild of vice
In heigh degree, and emperour hym *calle.*
H 69. thou art *to nyce*
Thus openly *repreve*[2] hym.[3]
Tr. IV. 598. she myght *holden the for nyce*
To late here go thus.
R.B. 4529. She was *to blame* me *to leve.*
Tr. II. 713, 1648, V. 739, 1338, 1709, H.F. I. 269, Lb. 369, B 2543, R.B. 3123 (vilains estes du demander),[4] 3144, 3509, 3593, 3730, 3741, 4016, 4067, 4544.[5]

(*d*) The infinitive sometimes denotes means and at the same time is in a kind of apposition to the governing element.

I 146. Ne a fouler thral may no man . . . maken of his body than *for to yeven* his body to synne, i.e. *than giving*, or *than by giving.*
H.F. III. 288.

[1] Cf. Sörgel, p. 297, Tr. 19649. Pechie fetes del meintenir, with other examples. The construction is frequent in O.F.

[2] So E, Hg., C; rest = to repreve.

[3] Einenkel (pp. 239, 244) misunderstands these passages. The first he calls "Infinitive des Zweckes" (p. 244), and refers to the second, of which he says (p. 239) that *nyce ben* belongs to "Redensarten, deren begrifflicher Gehalt dem eines transitiven Verbs gleichkommt." He apparently understands them as cases of what I have called negative result after adjectives with *too* (see above, p. 67, note 5). They clearly belong to the category of the infinitive denoting *cause, ground:* "I am too foolish, very foolish, in that I set a man," etc.; "Thou art very foolish to reprove him," etc. Cf. E 2433:

and I sholde rekenen every vice,
. . . I *were to nyce.*

[4] For the original force of the preposition *de* here, cf. Tobler, I. pp. 5 ff.

[5] Skeat (Glossary s.v. *wyte*) makes *to wyte* in R.A. 1541 a noun phrase, but an infinitive in D 806 and Tr. III. 63. The passages are—

(1) R.A. 1541. For if *her deth* be *yow to wite.*
(2) D 806. That I have doon, *it* is *thyself to wyte.*
(3) Tr. III. 63. here is she *that* is youre *deth to wyte.*
Cf. also (4) R.B. 3558. The *god of love it* was *to wite.*

It is possible to treat all these cases as infinitives (the forms of noun and verb are alike). The O.E. construction with *witan* was *acc. rei dat. pers.* So here we may interpret (1) "if her death is to be blamed to you," (2) "what I have done is to be blamed to thyself," (3) "she to whom your death is to be blamed," (4) "to the god of love it was to be blamed." Cf. A 3140. *Wyte it the ale* of Southwerk, I yow preye; B 3636. Thy *false wheel* my *wo* al *may I wyte;* B 3860, Tr. II. 1000. Compare also the modern colloquial, "He blamed it on me, to me."

(*e*) The infinitive may denote cause or means and at the same time be regarded as the subject of the sentence.

A 773. For trewely *confort ne myrthe is noon*
To ride by the weye doumb as the stoon.
I 1059, Tr. I. 708, L. 2531.[1]

(*f*) Several cases occur in which the cause of the action in the predicate seems to reside in an elliptical idea such as *desire*, *fear*, etc.

[1] This last example would ordinarily be classed as subject infinitive; but it is by no means certain that it might not have been felt by Chaucer to mean, "There ought to be little glory to you *from* having betrayed a maid, in betraying a maid." This suggests one possible source of the causal infinitive in English. On this colourless use of *it*, see above, p. 54, note 4 (*b*). Cf. I 296. for thereof is no doute, that *it* is deedly synne *in consentynge*. For certes, *ther is no deedly synne*, etc. It must have been hard to distinguish between the use of *it* in cases like *it is synne in consentynge* (= ther is synne) and in *it is synne to consente*. Cf. Lydg. R.S. 445:

thou art *to blame*
And unto thee *yt is gret shame*
Thyself so longe *to encombre*.

Here *to encombre* may be causal infinitive with both clauses, there being no mixture of constructions. In that case, *shame* is the real subject of the second sentence. Cf. Juliana (Paul, I. 1085, § 141): *Ther wes sorhe to seon* hire leoflich lich faren so reowliche wiŏ. In the very frequent expressions *it was pity to see*, and the like, the noun might have been felt as subject, and the infinitive would then have a causal sense. That the causal sense may have been present in many cases where we regard the infinitive as subject, is suggested by the passage from Lydgate just quoted. Cf. also the following: Lydg. R.S. 3519:

Geyn ís ther noon *teschewe blame*,

and Guy of Warwick, Auch. MS. 172, 10:

Gret sinne *it is to* þe
To stroye so þi barouns fre.

Cf. the same passage in Caius MS. 9476:

Ye do yourselfe gret dishonoure
To leve so well that losyngoure.

Cf. also the ballad of Bewick and Graham (Child, 211), st. 20:

"Nay, *for to kill* my bully dear,
I think *it will be* a deadly sin;
And *for to kill* my father dear,
The blessing of heaven I neer *shall win*."

In O.F. we find a corresponding interchange of subject and causal infinitive, the latter being original there. Cf. Tobler, I. pp. 5 ff., and Gröber, I. pp. 811–12: "*De* vor dem logischen Subject war im Altfranzösischen gewöhnlich, z.B. Bone chose est de pais, De vostre mort fust grans damages, was nach Tobler zunächst: von eurem Tode her würde grosser Schaden gewesen sein. Dieser Gebrauch des *de* ist auch der modernen Sprache verblieben. . . ." Cf. L. 598:

And *of his deeth it was* ful gret damage.

B 1746. that to hire *to preye*,
He *kan nat stynte* of syngyng by the weye.[1]
L. 2388. he wol not, for his shame,
Doon as Tereus, *to lese* hys name.
E 1980. That from hire herte she ne dryve kan
The remembrance, *for to doon* hym ese.
Tr. III. 1776. And this encres of hardinesse and myght
Cam hym of love, his ladyes thank *to wynne*.[2]

The governing idea is expressed:

L. 1585. kan fals Jason *have no pes*
For to desiren thurgh his appetite
To doon with gentil wymmen hys delyte;
This is his luste and his felicite.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CONCESSIVE INFINITIVE.

THE infinitive denotes a reward for doing, or a penalty for not doing, an action, in spite of which the action does not take place. Einenkel (p. 242) has pointed out that this construction is an outgrowth of the purpose infinitive, which "stellt hier, den ursprünglichen Verhältnissen entsprechend, den Lon dar, um dessentwillen die Tätigkeit des Verbum Finitum sich vollzieht."[3]

[1] For the meaning, cf. vv. 1721–23. The infinitive may also be regarded as a kind of purpose. In fact, all the examples under (*f*) are illustrations of that looser relation of the infinitive to the sentence, where the exact syntax is hard to define, and the thought wavers among several categories.

[2] The infinitive here may denote purpose after the action suggested by the noun *love*.

[3] Einenkel points out that the concessive sense has developed from the final under the influence of the negative. To this observation should be added, (1) that the infinitive denotes a purpose that is *extreme* or *unusual* in view of the main action. It is just this feature that carries the infinitive beyond the point of purpose to the concessive idea. "I would not do this to please a friend," expresses ordinary purpose, unless the pleasing of a friend would be a strong motive for the act in question. The idea then becomes concessive: "even to please a friend."

(2) That the main action is in some way hypothetical, not actual, so far as

The following examples are arranged to show a possible development from the purpose infinitive.

1. The infinitive (here denoting purpose without a concessive idea) denotes the purpose for which some reward is given.

F 1220. What somme *sholde* this maistres *gerdoun be*
To removen alle the rokkes of Britayne.
A 1900. *yaf hym* mete and wages
The theatre *for to maken* and *devyse.*

D 1325, I 894, Bl. 245 (cf. p. 84, below), R.C. 6676.

2. On the other hand, the infinitive may denote the reward as motive for the main action, which is in the affirmative.

H.F. III. 767. And *for to gette* of Fames hire,
The temple *sette I alle afyre.*

3. The main action is negative and the infinitive denotes an extreme *reward*, in spite of which the main action fails to take place, the final force becoming concessive.

Tr. IV. 1237. I *nolde* a forlong wey on-lyve *han be*
After youre death, *to han be crowned* quene.
D 961. She swoor him nay, *for al this world to wynne*
She *nolde do that* vileynye or synne.[1]

Tr. I. 503, P.F. 391.

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shown by the examples from Chaucer. It is something which *would or will not* take place, rather than something which *did not or does not* take place.

For the development of the corresponding O.F. construction, cf. Tobler, I. pp. 20 ff.

[1] Einenkel (p. 136, end) classifies this example, not with the concessive infinitive, but with the expression *for al the world*, as in H.F. III. 434:

suche a maner murmuryng,
For al the world, hyt semed me.

In *for al this world to wynne* he says "der Infinitiv *to wynne* ist wie in den vielen afranz. Fällen zum Verständniss nicht nötig und nur ganz tautologisch hinzugefügt." But in a case like Amis and Amil. 994, To win al this worldes won, used in the same concessive sense, Einenkel would hardly say *to win* is "ganz tautologisch hinzugefügt." Moreover, this last case shows that the expression belongs to the concessive infinitive developed from that of purpose, and that *for* belongs to the infinitive.

4. The infinitive denotes a *penalty* in spite of which the main action does not take place.

B 1327. Ne *shal I nevere, for to goon to helle,*
Biwreye a word.

There are a number of cases in M.E. of the word-order *for* + *object* + *to* + *infinitive*, equivalent to *for to* + *infinitive* + *object.*

F 1357. *For which tescape* woot I no socour,

"to escape which, I know no help," or possibly originally, "no help for which, to escape it." This phrase *for al this world to wynne* likewise seems to me to belong here.

The construction is found in Alfred:

Be. 622, 10. in ælþeodignesse lifde *for ðam ecan eþle* in heofonum *to begitanne* (peregrinam ducere vitam pro adipiscenda in caelis patria) (Wf. p. 217).

Shearin (p. 18) says there are only two cases of *for to* + *infinitive* which he has found in O.E. He cites Cod. Dip. IV. 306, 3 (Harold, 1066 A.D.). and ich bidde eou all ðæt ge bien him on fultume at ðys cristendome Godes gerichtten *for to setten* and *to driven.*

Chron., Thorpe's ed. I. 377, 30 (1127 A.D.). Oc se kyng hit dide *for to havene sibbe* of se eorl of Angeow and *for helpe to havene* togænes his neve Willelm.

The last example is significant, for it shows that *for to havene sibbe* is the syntactical equivalent of *for helpe to havene*, and that therefore the example cited above from Wülfing really belongs under the infinitive with *for to.* In the following examples also the two modes of expression appear as equivalent:

Orm. 11993. þatt birrþ þe leggenn vpponn Godd,
Acc nohht *forr himm to fandenn,*
Acc *forr to sekenn are* att himm.

V. and V. 45, 11. Hie stieð up . . . *for to sceawin* ðe michele merðe of hevene riche, *for to sceawin* ðe windes . . ., and *for us to warnin* þat. . . .

Ibid. 57, 30. hie neðerið hem *for eadmodnesse te habben* and *for to helpen* godes þe(a)rven.

Ibid. 73, 19. naht *for hem selven* ane, ac *for ððre ec awei to affleien.*

For other M.E. examples of *for* + *object* + *to* + *infinitive*, see V. and V. 11, 13; 85, 24, etc.; Orm. 243, 244, 11410, 11758, and often; Conf. Am. II. 2440, V. 1332; O. and N. 1287.

The above facts suggest caution as to deriving the use of *for to* with the infinitive either from O.N. (Shearin, p. 17 f.) or from O.F. (Einenkel, Paul, p. 1075 ð, Shearin, p. 17 f.), especially in view of the example from Alfred.

A number of ways are evident in which the construction could have grown up normally in O.E. If it grew up separately in O.N. and O.F., certainly it could do so in O.E. (1) The causal use of *for*, e.g., would suggest its use with *to* + *inf.* regarded as a substantive unit, in cases like Reyn. (cf. Reul, p. 119). I *be mevyd* and *angry for to lose* suche maner jewellis; Malory (Baldwin, p. 77). to blame *for to displease* kyng Arthur; Chaucer:

La. 331. *For hate,* or *for jelous ymagynyng,*
And *for to han* with you sum dalyaunce.

I 967. *for to bere* compaignye shal go to the devel of helle.

(2) The widespread use of *for* in purpose phrases in O.E. (cf. Shearin) and M.E. probably assisted. See below, p. 143, 2, and cf. C 403.

O.F. shows the same word order with *por* and other prepositions + *à* + *infinitive.* Cf. Diez, p. 244, 3; Soltmann, p. 364, note 2. Sörgel (p. 218) likewise explains the O.F. use as arising from a construction in which the first preposition was originally connected with the object, not directly with the infinitive.

E 363. *I nyl yow disobeye*
For to be deed.

Tr. III. 1502. *To dyen in the peyne*, I kowde nowght.

E 858. But certes, lord, for noon adversitee,
To dyen in this cas, it shal nat bee.

Tr. I. 674, C.L. 20.

5. The infinitive denotes both reward and penalty.

Damours, 84. *To live or dye*, I wol it never repente.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ABSOLUTE INFINITIVE.

A. THE parenthetical infinitive.

The purpose infinitive becomes stereotyped, sometimes by an ellipsis that can be more or less definitely supplied. The first examples show the final nature of the construction.

R.B. 2013. But ther ageyns thee *to comforte*,
And with thi servise *to desporte*,
Thou mayst full glad and joyfull be
So good a maister to have as me.[1]

Tr. I. 887. al this bet *to eche*,
. . . . . .
A kynges herte semeth by hires a wrecche.[2]

The purpose nature is often entirely lost, and the infinitive means little more than "first," "briefly," "finally," "in fact," etc.

La. 109. As *for to speke* of gomme, or erbe or tre,
Comparisoun may non i-makede be.

[1] Here Skeat (Glossary, s.v. *desporte*) says: "after *desporte* understand *thee*, i.e. thyself." It is possible, however, to take the passage as meaning, "I tell you this to strengthen and encourage you against," etc., parallel with *warne I thee*, 2009. For the phrase *comfort and desport* in this sense (not reflexive), cf. *N. E. D.* s.v. *disport*, 1; also H. F. II. 63.

[2] As showing the purpose nature of such parenthetical phrases, compare such expressions as "for instance," "for example," *exempli gratia*, *pour finir*, *ne multa dicamus* (=Pall. III. 64. And, *short to sey*). For examples in O.F., cf. Sörgel, p. 296, and for a (rare) case in O.E., cf. Sohrauer, p. 27, § 10.

Ast. II. 4, 7. The assendent sothly, *to take it* at the largeste, is thilke degree that assendeth.

A 284. But, *sooth to seyn*, I noot how men hym calle.

E 71, G 1082, I 457, etc.

B. The exclamatory infinitive.

Some examples suggest a relation to the causal infinitive (cf. p. 68, above).

H 278. O rakel hand! *to doon* so foule amys.[1]

L. 838. Allas, *to bidde* a woman goon by nyghte
In place there a peril fallen myghte!

The subject infinitive or the infinitive in apposition with the subject often becomes isolated so as to approach an exclamatory force.

A 2115. *To fighte* for a lady—benedicitee!
It were a lusty sighte.

Tr. IV. 436. This *lechecraft*, or heled thus to be,
Were wel sittyng, if that I were a fende,
To traysen here that trewe is unto me![2]

Likewise, in apposition with the object.

L. 2080. A kynges sone . . .
To ben my servant . . . ,
God shelde *hit!*

The following construction is possibly elliptical:

Tr. III. 806. Horaste! allas! and *falsen* Troylus?

C. The historical infinitive.

There are a few passages in Chaucer which some editors have regarded as cases of the historical infinitive.

(*a*) Tr. II. 1108. And she *to laughe* it thought here herte brest.

Einenkel (p. 240) assumes an ellipsis of some word like *began*. Skeat (Vol. VI. p. 403) quotes C. Stoffel's note, in which the latter explains the infinitive as historical, suggesting that *gan* or its equivalent be supplied. Stoffel's parallels are not all convincing.

As to the form, Cp. and Cl. both read *to laughe*, the infinitive

[1] Compare cases like Tr. V. 739. I had *don amys To stele* awey, and the examples on p. 74 (*c*).

[2] *To traysen* may also depend on *fende*.

form. I have explained the sense as that of an infinitive of cause parallel in sense with v. 1169, That she *for laughter* wende for to dye. Here *for laughter* expresses the same idea as a causal infinitive (see p. 73, note 1, above.)

Cf. R.A. 1505. Narcisus hadde suffred paynes
For rennyng alday in the playnes,

where the French has a causal infinitive : soffert grant travail *De corre.*

As to the word-order and anacoluthon in *she, to laughe, it thoughte*, "she, for laughter, it seemed," etc., in the first place, such a change in construction is natural enough at any time. But it is especially in keeping with M.E. syntax. As Van der Gaaf has amply shown, the confusion between *thynken* and *thenken* was well advanced in Chaucer's time, so that the change from the construction *she thoughte* to *it thoughte* (*hir thoughte* of some MSS.) is only apparent. *It thoughte* could easily be felt as equal to "thought," and the use of the nominative *she* would not seem like a change in construction.

Cf. A 3733. And *Absolon hym fil* no bet ne wers,
where C reads: *And Absolon fel.*

A 3272. *Nicholas*
Fil with this yonge wyf to rage and pleye.[1]

La. 356. For *he* that king or lord is naturel,
Him oughte nat be tiraunt ne cruel.

(*b*) Tr. II. 788. So cesseth love, and *forth to love* an newe (cf. Einenkel, p. 240, who supplies *gan* or *they gon*). Here *forth* is essentially a verb of motion.

Cf. D 353. But *forth she wole* . . .
To shewe hir skyn.

(*c*) L. 635. *Up gooth* the trumpe and *for to shoute* and *shete*,
And *paynen hem* to sette on with the sonne.

[1] While it is true that *Absolon* is ambiguous in case, so far as form goes, there can be little doubt that it was felt as a nominative, as also *Nicholas* in A 3272. The change of datives to nominatives with impersonals in cases where the form is different, as in *him likes* > *he likes*, shows (what Van der Gaaf has too little emphasized) that the nominative must have been felt long before the form changed. Cf. Tr. III. 1401 :

And evere more whan that *hem fille to speke*,
. . . . . .
With kyssyng alle that tale sholde breke,
And *fallen* [i.e. they fall] in a newe joye anoon,
And *dede al here myght.*

For the present indicative *brest* after *thoughte*, see below, p. 130, note 1.

Einenkel (p. 241) suggests an ellipsis of *they beginne*. In this example apparently we have a case of the not infrequent substantivized infinitive, exactly equivalent to a verbal noun. It interchanges with the verbal in stereotyped descriptions of battles like this. Cf. Song of Rol. 52:

When he had said, they herd hym blif:
blowinge off bugles and bemes aloft,
trymlinge of tabers and *tymbring* soft,
bridlinge of stedes and baners up *to fold.*

For a similar description with verbals throughout, cf. Alisaunder vv. 2162 ff (Mtz. *Spr.* I. 1, p. 246):

Now rist grete *tabour betyng,*
Blaweyng of pypes, and ek trumpyng,
. . . . . .
So gret bray, so gret crieyng.

I take the Chaucer passage to mean: "Up goes the sound of the trumpet, and the shouting and shooting," etc.[1] As for *peynen hem*, there is no reason for regarding it as other than the indicative plural with omitted subject, according to frequent Chaucerian and M.E. usage.[2] Note that MS. Camb. Gg. reads *peynede.*

(*d*) L. 652. Antony is shent, and put hym to the flyght
And al hys folke *to-goo*, that best goo myght.

Referring to Stoffel's note, Skeat (Vol. VI. p. 403) suggests that this passage be explained as historical infinitive, though his text reads *to-go*. Of the MSS., Camb. Gg. 4, 27, Tanner 346, Trin. Camb.

[1] For the infinitive equivalent to a verbal noun, and *vice versa*, cf. R.C. 6667:
bidde hem *begging*,
Ne *sellen* gospel ne *prechyng*,
in which the French is the same in the three cases—a *que*-clause.
R.A. 112. For fairer *plaiyng* non saugh I
Than *playen* me by that ryvere.
I 84. Penitence is the *pleynynge* of man for gilt that he hath doon, and na moore *to do* any thing for which . . .
Cf. Wyclif, p. 15. þis cost is geten *bi biggen* of pore men.
For infinitives equivalent to verbals after prepositions, cf. Ancren Riwle, 344, 1. of prude . . . of *sitten* to longe et þurle . . . of *scheden* crumen . . . of *keorfunge* oðer of *hurtunge* (Redepenning, § 107).

[2] E.g. V. and V., p. 39, 33. ne *wraððe* mid ðe ne *wuneð* ones daiges længe, ac alchne gylt *forgifst* oðe mid luve *sa(h)tlest.* For an example in Chaucer, cf. Tr. III. 1401, quoted in note 1, p. 81. For a striking case of anacoluthon, cf. A 1641–43.

R. 3, 19, Arch. Seld. B. 24, and Thynne's ed., all read *to go*. F reads *to-goo*.

It is not necessary, at least, to regard this as infinitive. It may be past participle (Skeat, Glossary, s.v. *to-go*), or it may be indicative plural present. Cf. O.E. Ic toga (=dehisco) (Bosw.-Toller). For the form of the present plural, cf. *N. E. D.*, s.v. *go*, A, 2, d. Perhaps the simplest explanation is (as Professor Kittredge suggests) to regard *to goo* as infinitive depending on *put*.

From this it appears that there is no certain case of historical infinitive in Chaucer. Each case is capable of other explanation which is consistent with the sense and with M.E. grammar.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CONDITIONAL INFINITIVE.

THE infinitive frequently has a conditional force. It is not necessary, however, to regard this as an independent construction. It is often possible to substitute a conditional clause for certain infinitives which belong at bottom to other constructions, such as purpose, means, and the like. The following examples from Chaucer are arranged to show various relations with other syntactical categories.

1. The purpose infinitive often approaches a conditional force.

E 665. Right gladly wolde I dyen, yow *to plese*.

Tr. IV. 430. *to don* his wo to falle,
He roughte not what unthrifte that he seyde.

Cf. v. 428. Thise wordes seyde he for the nones alle,
To helpe his frend, lest he for sorwe deyde.

Ast. II. 9, 6. The same manere maist thou worche *to knowe* the quantite.[1]

Bl. 245. *To make* me slepe and have som reste,
I wil yive him the alder-beste
Yift.

Cf. v. 249. *If* he wol make me slepe.

R.B. 5032.

2. The absolute infinitives, originally expressing purpose, in the formulas, *soth to telle,* etc., after losing their purpose force, easily take on a conditional force. Compare the examples on pp. 79 f. and

E 760. shortly *if this storie I tellen shal.*

B 1007. *if I shal nat lye.*

Tr. I. 982, Ast. II. 38, etc.

3. The infinitive as subject sometimes has a conditional force, especially when it is expressed in apposition with an anticipatory or resumptive *it, that,* etc.

E 1696. I trowe *it* were to longe yow to tarie,
If I yow tolde of every scrit and bond,
. . . . . .
Or *for to herknen* of hir riche array.[2]

Tr. III. 644. For hom *to gon,* it may nought wel betyde.[3]

[1] The infinitive of purpose, since it represents an unfulfilled act or state, easily lends itself to hypothetical conceptions.

Cf. Pall. I. 1065. *To bey* thy been, biholde hem riche and fulle.
(Apres *si emendae sunt,* provideamus ut . . .)

Pall. III. 283. alowe
Hit up tencrece & wynes fortabounde,
Yf thow wold have on bowis hem facounde,
But fewer *for to have* & gretter wynes,
Into the trees top lede up thy vynes.

Pall. I. 226. Yet most hit have an other thing *to thryve.*

Conf. Am. III. 639. a man *to beie* him pes
Behoveth soffre as Socrates
Ensample lefte.

[2] Likewise, a conditional clause is made to take the place of a subject. Cf. Maund. XVI. 4. Were it not wise *if I fled* from the place . . . ?

In Tr. II. 635 the repetition of the infinitive as subject leaves the first infinitive conditional:

And eke *to sen* hym yn his gere hym dresse,
So fressh, so yong, so weldy semed he,
It was an hevene upon hym *for to se.*

[3] Cf. verse 637. *To wende* now, it were to me a shame.

In apposition with other elements :

F 1578. For sikerly my dette shal be quyt
Towardes yow, *howevere that I fare,*
To goon abegged in my kirtle bare.[1]

So also the infinitive object :

Tr. V. 493. *to take* of hym oure leve,
He wolde wondren on *it* trewely.

4. When the infinitive expresses a contemporaneous action with the governing verb, the idea often becomes conditional. This use is similar to that of certain French infinitives with *à*, having a temporal sense, and then various implications, such as *source*, *specification*, and the like.[2]

H 63. He hath also to do moore than ynough
To kepen hym and his capul out of slough.
Cf. 66. Thanne shal we alle have ynough to doone
In lityng up his hevy, dronken cors.
R.B. 2729. How any man may lyve or laste
. . . . . .
Aye unrelesed woo *to make.*
(En tel poine n'en tel ardure, etc.)
R.B. 2732. such peynes *to fele* (en tel enfer).
Tr. V. 1124.

5. The complementary infinitive easily passes into a conditional sense when it is somewhat separated from the governing word.

[1] When, as here, some extreme hypothetical situation is conceived of, the idea becomes concessive. Cf. pp. 76 ff.

[2] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, p. 564. He gives the example, A vous entendre, on croit que, etc. See also Lachmund, p. 33, 3, "Im Afr. findet sich dieser [causalen oder conditionalen] Infinitiv mit *à* sehr häufig und kann durch alle möglichen, nicht blos causale oder condionale, Nebensätze widergegeben werden." Also Soltmann, p. 421, B, who cites as an example of the same construction Tristram 23781. Ci aurait *assez à faire* Qui voldreit conter et retraire, *A dire* com faitierement S'entrerequierent. Cf. Sörgel, p. 296, ¶¶ 5 and 6, and Diez, III. p. 241, 4.

It is not necessary to assume that the English construction is derived from the French. The connection of a conditional sense with various other infinitive constructions is sufficiently close to permit of its development from native constructions.

Tr. III. 481. That, *to ben* in his good governaunce,
So wys he was, she *was no more afered.*

Here *afered* may be taken absolutely, "afraid, if she could be in his care," or with the infinitive, "afraid to be in his care."

A similar conditional relation is possible after the verb *rekken, recchen: I recche* nought *to dye,* "I don't care if I die."

6. The infinitive denoting means comes in some cases to have a conditional sense.

A 3047. a man *hath moost honour*
To dyen in his excellence.
Tr. IV. 642. she wol ben *evele apayed*
To ravisshen here.[1]

7. A conditional sense, becoming concessive on account of its superlative nature, is seen in the phrase *in all the world to seek.*

A 2587. In al the world *to seken* up and down,
. . . . .
There nere swiche compaignyes tweye.
A 3252.[2]

8. A construction which sometimes shows a conditional force, though not confined to that, nor even to the infinitive, may, for convenience, be mentioned here. The infinitive may be joined to another element of the sentence by a co-ordinate conjunction in such a way as to give a unit co-ordinate in form; but the infinitive in some way modifies the other member of the phrase so as to denote a condition, result, purpose, etc. The distinction between such a unit and a really co-ordinated phrase is sometimes slight, resembling in this respect the paratactic construction *go and see.*

[1] Cf. Pall. II. 330. almaundes me may make
With lettres growe, her shellis *to disclose*
And *write* upon the cornel
(nasci amydala scripta *si* aperta testa . . . tollas & in co scribas).

[2] Cf. La. 176.

I 90. *Wepynge* and *nat for to stynt* to synne, may nat avaylle,[1]

that is, "weeping, *if one does not cease* sinning."

I 84. Penitence is the *pleynynge* of man for gilt that he hath doon and na moore *to do* any thyng for which[2] . . .

B 2820. bettre it is to been a good man and *have* litel good . . . than[3] . . .

Bl. 18. For nature wolde nat suffyse
To noon erthely creature
Not longe tyme *to endure*
Withoute slepe *and be* in sorwe.

Here *be in sorwe* is parallel in sense with *withoute slepe*, not with *to endure*.

H.F. III. 624. And wene ye *for to doo* goode
And *for to have* of that no fame?

i.e. "that you can do good *without having* fame?"

Tr. I. 391. assente
Criseyde *for to love* and *naught repente*,

i.e. "*without repenting*."

La. 311. what eylyth the *to wryte*
The draf of storyis and *forgete* the corn?

i.e. "*while forgetting, if you forget*," etc.

Lb. 200. I me sped
To goon to reste and erly *for to ryse*,

i.e. "*in order that* I might rise early," *for to ryse* depending in sense on *to goon* rather than on *sped*.

For similar subordinate ideas expressed coördinately, cf. F 200, Tr. II. 999, III. 371.

[1] Cf. l. 93. repentant folk *that stynte* for to synne.
[2] Cf. l. 85. Penitence is the weymentynge of man *that sorweth* for his synne.
[3] Cf. l. 2818. *to have* a litel good *with the love of God*, than *to have* muchel good . . . and *lese* the love of . . . God.

CHAPTER X.

THE INFINITIVE AS COMPLEMENT OF VERBS.

THE common characteristic of the examples in this chapter is, that the infinitive denotes a further action of the subject of the governing verb. In case the verb has an object (not the infinitive), this is either not subject of the infinitive, as, "I promised him to be there," or it is a reflexive object not to be regarded as directly subject of the infinitive, but as attaching itself more closely to the verb, as, "He busied himself to do it."

The distinction between transitive and intransitive in the governing verbs is here disregarded as having no essential effect on the construction. In "he ceased to go" it makes no difference in the sense whether *cease* is transitive or not. In most cases of *cease* it is impossible to tell, and so with many other verbs. Moreover, such a division would separate verbs equivalent in meaning, as *casten* and *casten hym(self)* followed by the infinitive. On this point, perhaps all that need be said is, that the category represents chiefly two sources: the O.E. simple infinitive after verbs clearly transitive, as *onginnan*, *þencan;* and the prepositional infinitive in which *to* has its original force denoting literal or figurative motion towards, after verbs of motion such as *hasten*, *entenden*, and many others, in which the sense can be conceived of as figurative motion or tendency towards a goal. Many such verbs with the infinitive may be regarded from either standpoint, as having the infinitives for their direct objects, or for prepositional objects denoting *end*, *aim*, etc. Verbs like *purposen*, *seken*, may be regarded in either light.

As suggested at the end of Chapter II., some verbs there might also appropriately be included here, and *vice versa*. The degree in which a purpose infinitive after a verb with the same logical subject may properly be considered as complementary, depends on the degree to which the verb and infinitive are united by custom into a phrase unit of which the infinitive is felt to be essential to the full meaning

of the verb. In this respect compare such verbs as *comen, hasten, rennen, waiten, intenden,* in the lists below and in Chapter II. The same applies to some object infinitives in Chapter XI., many of which may be regarded as purpose infinitives in the looser relation. The chief difference between the Object infinitive and the Complementary infinitive is, in the present classification, the fact that, in the former, verb object = infinitive subject, and in the latter, verb subject = infinitive subject.[1]

Old English.

Beow. 100. oð þæt an *ongan* fyrene *fremman* (K. p. 36).

Beow. 354. þa ondsware . . . þe me se goda *agifan* þenceð (K. p. 40).

Beow. 713. *mynte* se man-sceða manna cynnes sumne *besyrwan* (K. p. 41).

Beow. 1820. we *fundiaþ* Higelac *secan* (K. p. 41).

Beow. 2643. þeah þe hlaford us þis ellenweorc ana *apohte to gefremmanne* (K. p. 46).

Beow. 2452. oðres ne *gymeð to gebidanne* burgum on innan yrfe-weardes (K. p. 46).

C.P. 76, 21. and on ðæt swæð ðara haligra singallice *winnað to spyrianne* (Wf. p. 217).

Be. 502, 19. utan biddan God, þæt he *geeadmodige* us *to getacnian* (Wf. p. 217).

For numerous further examples, cf. Köhler, pp. 29 ff., 35 ff., 46 ff., Wülfing, pp. 177 ff., 204 ff.

Old French.

Mer. 5380. Deus me doint ce que je *demant*
Veoir (S. p. 227).

Rol. 2904. Suz cel ne *quid aveir* ami un sul (S. p. 230).

Tr. 1425. Tant *entendrai a* vos *servir* (S. p. 241).

Clig. 2912. *A* Cligés *esgarder estrive* (S. p. 241).

Tr. 9488. qui ne *s'enpeint*
De venjance *prendre* des lor (S. p. 241).

B. Chr. II. 21072. Laide ovre *a faire* ne *renei* (S. p. 246).

[1] The arrangement is alphabetical. In the case of phrases the head word is chosen with a view to the signification of the phrase. In such phrases as *set his might, set his talent, do his might,* it is the noun that determines the meaning, and this is therefore placed in the alphabetical order.

M. Fr., Purg. 869. Si mielz *amez a remaneir* (S. p. 261).
Tr. 10406. Que si com il *ont comencié*
De bien *fere* lo parsivront (S. p. 262).

Chaucer.

The statistics regarding the use of the simple and prepositional infinitive are intended to be complete, though some cases have probably been overlooked. All the cases of simple infinitive are recorded; the number of cases of the prepositional infinitive, when more than one, is indicated in parentheses after one reference for each. The simple infinitives are at the left, those with *to* in the centre, *for to* at the right.

Abandounen himself.		I 713
Abiden.	R.C. 6294	
Acorden.	Bo. IV. p. 4. 151 (2)	
Acorded ben.	C 835	
(Of) acord fallen.	F 741	
(Of) acustumaunce haven.		B 3701
Advertence yeven.	H.F. II. 201	
All that he kan, don.	H 156 (2)	
Alliance maken.	B 3523	
Applyen thy tunge.	R.B. 2223	
Asken, axen.	B 2873 (5)	
Assayen.	F 1567 (5)	
Assay don.	L. 1594	
Assenten.	E 150 (6)	Tr. I. 391 (2)
Assuren.	E 1983 (3)	
Assuren him.	L. 908	
Asterten.	C 414	
Atteynen.	Bo. II. p. 4, 166	
Auntren him.	R.B. 2495	
Avysen him.	R.B. 1807	
Avysement taken.	L. 1417	

Bidden. R.A. 791, Tr. II. 406

Biginnen. A 3018, etc.	Tr. II. 1374, etc.	A 2173, etc.
Bihoten, bihighten.	Tr. V. 354 (6)	
Binden him.	C.M. 48 (cf. 47) (2)	
Bisechen.	Bal. Compleynte, 19 (cf. 15)	
Bisy ben.	E 1560 (6)	E 2422 (2)
Bisien him.	G 758 (5)	G 1442
(In) bisynesse ben.	C 56	

Bisynesse don.	A 1005 (9)	G 22 (2)
Bisynesse setten.		R.B. 5595
Bithynken him.	R.B. 5612	
Brennen.	R.B. 5700	
Bresten.	F 1480 (3)	L. 1033
Casten.	B 406 (5)	Tr. IV. 34 (2)
Casten him.	B 3048 (3)	B 4265 (3)
Cessen.	G 124 (8)	Tr. II. 692 (3)
Chesen.	G 38 (9)	D 915 (3)
Claymen.	D 1120	Gentil. 2
Clepen.		I 289
Compassen.	B 591	
Compassen and casten.	R.A. 194	H.F. III. 80
Conformen[2] him.	B 2967	
Conseil taken.	B 4443	
Conseil asken.	B 2281	
Consenten.	I 294	
Contenaunce maken.	I 858	
Corage cacchen.	I 689	

[1] In H.F. III. 80 the passage stands:

Ne coude *casten no compace* (: *place*)
Swich an other *for to make.*

Professor Robinson has suggested to me the possibility that *no* should be emended to *ne*. I find no MS. authority for the change, and the evidence is not decisive for or against it. The following facts bear on it:

(1) I do not find elsewhere in Chaucer the expression *casten compas*, though it occurs in M.E., Henryson, Mor. Fab. (1865) 185. He *kest ane compas* far about (*N.E.D.* s.v. *casten*). Cf. Cursor Mund. (Cott. MS.) 9947. Casten wit compass (*N.E.D.*). On the other hand, the expression *compassen and casten* is found in Chaucer (R.A. 194). Cf. also Conf. Am. VII. 2252. *caste and hath compassed* (*N.E.D.*), and E.E. Allit. P.B. 1455. *To compas and kest* (*N.E.D.*).

(2) If we read *no* and *compace* as a noun, this is the only certain Chaucerian passage in which *compas* has a final *e*. The other cases in possibly Chaucerian work are, Proverb of Chaucer, 5 (: *embrace*, inf.) and R.B. 3208 (: *grace*, see below). *Compas* occurs in rime in H.F. II. 290 (: *was*), H.F. I. 462 (: *Eneas*); A 1889, R.A. 526, La. 199 (all : *pas*); R.B. 1842, 4183 (: *was*).

Regarding R.B. 3208 (: *grace*), though *grace* usually takes *e* in rime, yet cf. B 2021 : *Thopas*, and R.B. 5128 *grace : lace* (*las* elsewhere without *e*). Note that both cases of *grace* (without *e*) are in the (Northern?) B-section of the Rose. The only remaining Chaucer case of *compace* as noun is then Prov. Ch. 5.

(3) There is a possibility that we may read the infinitive *compace* as the MS. stands. *N.E.D.* cites a few cases of *no=ne* (after other negatives). E. g.:

Lay. 10753. Ne recche ich noht . . his seolver *no* his goldes, *no* his claðes *no* his hors (s.v. *no*). Here the B-text has *ne*. Cf. also O. and N. (Jes. Coll. MS.) 266. þar-to ne segge ich nyk *no* nay (Cott. MS. =*ne*); 579 (Cott. MS. Cf. 580, *ne*. Jes. MS. =*ne*). This usage is also found in Robert of Brunne.

[2] The other MSS. read *conferme.*

Corage don.	H 164	
Coveiten. D 1189	Bo. II. p. 6, 15 (8)	
Craft don.		R.B. 1781
Cryen out.	P.F. 465	
Cure don.	D 1074 (4)	P.F. 369
Cure taken.	Pt. 82	
(In) custome haven.	R.B. 2217	
Deliten him.		La. 30
Delit setten.	L. 1939	
Demen. A 3226 [1]	B 2378 (2)	
Descenden.	B 2264, Tr. V. 859	
Deserven.	A 1726 (7)	Lb. 502
Desiren. B 4469, D 1038, Tr. V. 1458	A 2305 (38)	A 1255 (9)
Desir setten.	Tr. III. 486	
Despisen.[2]	Bo. III. m. 12, 45	
Diligence don	B 1729 (15)	H 141
Dreden.[3]	Tr. IV. 561	G 15
Dreden him.	D 1214	
Drede haven.	R.B. 2910	
(In) drede ben.	F 1386	B 2524
Douten.	I 953	I 696
Dressen him.	B 265 (4)	R.B. 1773
Embracen.	H 160	
Enclynen.	B 2683 (2)	

[1] With reflexive object = subject of infinitive.

[2] Einenkel (p. 235) cites *determynen* as taking a complementary infinitive, from a misconception of Tr. III. 379, That rather *deye* I wolde, and *determyne*, where *determyne* depends on *wolde* and means *come to an end.*

[3] Verbs and expressions denoting *fear*, when followed by the infinitive, are capable of two meanings in Chaucer: the one, *fear lest* a thing may occur; the other, *fear* or *dread to do* a thing, with no implication as to whether it will occur.

(1) Tr. IV. 858. What wold my dere herte seyn to me,
Which that I *drede* nevere mo *to see.*

i. e. "fear I shall never see."

B 2518, 2519, D 1214, I 953, Tr. IV. 55, 561, R.A. 1664, 1670, R.B. 2910, 2974, 3093, 3683, 3910, Bo. IV. p. 6, 346. A.B.C. 76; E 508 (may contain both senses), G 15, H 352, Bl. 24, R.A. 889, R.B. 5703.

(2) P.F. 157. *dred* thee not *to come.*

i. e. "don't be afraid to come."

B 2628, 2629, 2855, F 1386, G 320, 477, I 691, Tr. II. 874, III. 322, V. 894 (MS. Cp.), R.B. 2978; B 2524, I 696.

Enclynen him.		B 2784
Endouten him.	R.A. 1664	
Enduren.	Tr. II. 864 (2)	
Enforcen him.	B 2237 (25	B 2365
Entencioun setten.	R.B. 4701	
Entenden, intenden.	B 3498 (8)	E 1791 (4)
Entente don.	G 4 (5)	H.F. III. 1042
(In) entente fallen.		R.B. 3436
Entente setten.	D 1822 (5)	R.A. 1150 (2)
Entremetten.	R.C. 6503	
Envyen.	Bl. 406 (2)	
Eschuen.	B 2809 (4)	
Excusen him.	I 1042	
Exercisen him.	I 689	
Failen.	E 1632 (6)	L. 2110 (2)
Falsen.	L. 1640	
Fantasye is turned.		A 3191
Feith leyen.	Tr. V. 1664	
Feynen (hesitate).	Bl. 317 (3)	
Feynen him (pretend).	B 351 (3)	
Finden in herte.	Tr. IV. 265 (2)	
Fonden. Tr. II. 479, IV. 1401, H.F. III. 337	B 2080 (13)	
Forberen (endure).[1]	E 2182	
Forberen (spare).	B 3052 (5)	
(No) force yeven.	R.B. 4825	
Forgeten.	A 1882 (6)	
Forleten.	Bo. IV. p. 6, 268 (9)	Bo. IV. p. 2, 196
Forward maken.		A 33
Founden.		An. 47
Fynen.	D 788 (2)	
Ginnen.[2] A 1879, etc.	A 1783, etc.	A 1749, etc.

[1] This meaning is not cited by Skeat. The relation between the meaning *endure* and *forbere* (endure *not* to do anything) finds a curious parallel in Keats, Eve of St. Agnes, st. XV. v. 7, where *brook* seems to be used in the sense of *forbear* instead of the opposite sense of *endure* (from the earlier sense of *enjoy*).

[2] As is well known, *gan* with the simple infinitive is Chaucer's usual periphrastic preterit. This use is not, however, confined to the simple infinitive, as the following examples show.

Tr. II. 509. *Gan* he and I wel half a day *to dwelle.*

Gladden himself.	Bo. V. m. 5, 10	
Graunten.	F 990 (3)	
Hasten.	Bo. III. p. 7, 18 (4)	Bo. IV. p. 6, 399
Hasten him.	A 2052 (10)	Tr. II. 334
Haten.	R.B. 4964	
Hede taken.	Tr. III. 1224 (3)	D 213
Herte disposen.	D 1659	
Herte dressen.	E 1049	
Herte enclynen and bowen.	B 2691	
Herte setten.	R.B. 5704	
Heten, hoten.	Tr. II. 1623 (4)	Bl. 1226
Hiden.	I 394	
Hopen. Tr. I. 47, 980,[1] R.A. 966	I 285 (5)	D 920 (4)
Hyen him.	G 1084	G 1151
Imaginen.	Tr. V. 617	
Joye setten.	R.B. 2855	
Kepen. G 1368, Tr. I. 676, 763, H.F. III. 605, R.C. 6083, 6093, 6440	A 2960	L. 1032 A 2238
Labouren.	R.C. 7622	
Labour don.	B 1653 (5)	
Lernen. B 440, G 669, 835	G 1400 (5)	D 1978
Lest cacchen.	E 619	
Letten.	I 995 (7)	B 4279 (3)
Leven.	A 492 (4)	Tr. IV. 1335 (2)
Leven bihynde.	R.B. 2546	
Loven.	A 2310 (5)	A 634 (4)

G 203 (cf. 200), Tr. I. 190 (cf. 189), 1044 (cf. 1046), II. 1707, V. 1482, P.F. 531.

Tr. III. 1352. This Troilus ful ofte hir eighen two
Gan for to kisse.

V. 30, 1560.

B. 3629. Thus day by day this child *bigan to crye.*

The following examples are ambiguous in that some inceptive force may be present, but they show both simple and prepositional infinitives.

Tr. II. 906, 1668, 1671, IV. 236, H.F. I. 231, 235.

[1] If we follow Cp., Cl., and Cm. in omitting *to* we must assume the hiatus *hopë in.* MS. Harl. 2280 reads *to.*

Maken him bold.	Ast. II. 3, 72	
Menen. Tr. IV. 37, V. 1150, 1435	Tr. III. 1006 (4)	Venus, 50
Meten.	R.B. 4571	
Might don.	A 960 (10)	Tr. III. 1405
Might setten.	R.B. 1831	R.B. 2234
Minde haven (memento).	Bo. II. m. 4, 13	
Missen.	P.F. 75	
Myte setten.	Tr. III. 832	
Mynten.	Bo. I. m. 2, 3	
Nayten.	Bo. I. m. 1, 25	
Obligen him.	Tr. IV. 1414 (2)	
Observen.	I 429	
(In) pacience taken.	C.M. 40	
Peynen him. H.F. I. 246	C 330 (15)	B 4494 (3)
Peyne don.	F 730 (5)	Tr. IV. 942
Peyne werken.	Tr. I. 62	
Plesaunce cacchen.	E 993	
Plesaunce setten.	Bal. Ch. Made, 4	Compleynte, 14
Power don.	Bl. 553 (2)	
Pressen.	R.B. 2899 (2)	
(In) pres putten.		For. Age, 33
Presumen.	C 18	
Preyen.	H.F. III. 725	
Proferen.	E 152 (2)	Tr. III. 1461 (2)
Proferen him.	Lb. 405 (2)	
Proferen servyse.	A 1415	
Purposen.	B 2245 (6)	B 2395 (2)
(In) purpos ben.	Tr. IV. 1420 (2)	
Purposen him.	B 3024 (2)	
Purpos taken.	Tr. I. 379	Tr. I. 78 (3)
Redy maken.		B 1244
Refusen.	Bo. I. m. 6, 6 (5)	Tr. I. 255
Remembren.		A 1500
Removen.		R.B. 2464
Rennen.		Tr. I. 1066

Repenten.	L. 2088 (4)	
Repenten him.	Bl. 1116 (2)	
Requeren.	Bo. III. p. 9, 4	
Reward taken.	B 2561	
Sayen (essayen). R.B. 5162		
Seken, sechen.	H.F. II. 247 (12)	I 816
Semen.[1]		
Setten him.	D 209	
Shapen.	B 950 (4)	F 897 (3)
Shapen him.	B 966 (14)	D 1538 (12)
Shewen.	B 2388	
Slaken.	C 82	
Sort renneth.	Tr. II. 1754	
Sparen.[2]	E 2309 (5)	I 996 (2)
Speden him.	Tr. V. 501 (3)	B 1828 (2)
Stevene setten.		A 4383
Stiketh a nayl.	A 3877	
Strecchen.	Tr. II. 341 (2)	
Stryven.	Bo. II. m. 8, 21	
Studien.	B 2677 (3)	
Stynten, stenten.	E 972 (10)	Tr. II. 469 (7)
Submitted ben.	B 35	
Suffren.	I 400 (2)	
Supposen.	B 1785 (4)	
Sweren.	Tr. V. 127 (10)	D 1528
Swinken.		Tr. V. 272
Taken.		Tr. IV. 272
Talent setten.	R.B. 1716	
Tarien.	Tr. V. 862 (3)	
Tempesten him.	Truth, 8	
Thenken, thynken. A 984, Tr. V. 1154, R.B. 5395	Tr. II. 1413 (24)	A 3354 (3)
(In) thought haven.	R.B. 3888	
Thought setten.	R.B. 3152 (4)	
Travailen.	Bo. II. p. 1, 28 (3)	Bo. V. m. 3, 27(2)

[1] For *semen* with complementary infinitive, cf. p. 128, below.

[2] In A 1396 the syntax is ambiguous. *To see* may depend on *spare*, or on *fare* in 1395.

Travailen aboute.	Bo. II. p. 7, 76	
Travailen him.	Bo. III. p. 2, 31 (2)	Bo. III. p. 9, 98
Travaile don.[1]	E 1210	
Trouthe leyen.		D 1404
Trouthe plighten.	C 702 (6)	
Trowen.	L. 1358 (2)	
Trusten	Tr. IV. 391	
Undertaken.	L. 1452 (6)	R.C. 6747
(In) usage haven.	B 1696	
Usen. L. 1830	Tr. III. 1023 (5)	D 777 (4)
Usurpen.	Ast. Pr. 67	
Vouchen-sauf. A.B.C. 57	B 1083 (12)	A 812 (5)
Waiten.	I 407 (9)	
(In) awayt sitten.	D 1657	
(In) welde haven.	R.A. 395	
Wenen. A 4259, 4305, B 3720, D 311, E 2393, Tr. III. 83, 1340, IV. 683, 724, V. 381, 1522, L. 462, 1048, An. 96, Ast. II. 3, 76, Bo. I. p. 1, 71, R.A. 647, 1521, R.B. 1739, F 1341	A 3693 (22)	A 3813 (9)
Weyven.	B 2256	
(In) wey stonden.	Tr. III. 248	
Willen. Venus, 11	Tr. III. 412 (3)	H.F. I. 447
Wille cacchen.		E 2134
Wille setten.	R.B. 4851	R.B. 2234
Wilnen.	A 2114 (9)	F 120 (2)
Witen.	A 224, Tr. III. 1508	
Wit dressen.	Gentil. 3	
Wit setten.	H.F. II. 112	

[1] The passage is: *To gete* thee freendes ay *do thy travaille.* Einenkel (p. 286) makes *do* a simple infinitive depending on *geten*, as if the passage meant, "Get friends for yourself to do your work for you." The context is sufficient comment on the meaning, without the numerous examples of *don his might, power*, etc., with dependent infinitive.

Witholden himself.	R.B. 1825
Wooden.	Bo. IV. m. 3, 51
Yernen.	Bl. 1092
Yeven.	Bo. IV. p. 6, 2

Auxiliary Verbs.

The infinitive in connection with auxiliaries may conveniently be regarded as the most complete representation of the stereotyped complementary infinitive. The process has gone so far, from the object or the purpose infinitive, that the infinitive has not merely become a necessity to the sense of the governing verb, but has superseded it and become the main idea.

Old English.

The simple infinitive is regular after *cunnan, durran, magan, motan, sculan, ðurfan, willan.* Cf. Wülfing, p. 177, Köhler, p. 9.

Old French. Cf. Sörgel, p. 225.

Chaucer.

Corresponding to O.E., the use in Chaucer is the simple infinitive after *cunnen, durren, mowen, moten, schullen, willen.* Only a few illustrations will be given to show some special uses.

Owen. This verb is frequently used in an auxiliary sense. Since it developed from O.E. *agan, to possess,* its original construction is an object noun followed by the prepositional infinitive: *to have a thing to do.*[1] It is frequent in Chaucer with simple and with prepositional infinitive.[2]

Present. B 2691, R.B. 4413.

Preterit. A 3051, G 6, A 505.

Pseudo-impersonal. Tr. IV. 1143, I 84, Lb. 429.

[1] Cf. *Haven* with infinitive below, pp. 109 ff.

[2] Though I have not made an exact count to find the proportion of simple and prepositional infinitives with *owen,* a partial count shows about 135 cases of simple infinitive, 40 with *to,* and 5 with *for to.* The large number of simple infinitives is no doubt due to analogy of other auxiliary verbs, and in the case of the pseudo-impersonal *him oughte,* to that of impersonal verbs.

With the auxiliaries that usually take the simple infinitive, the prepositional is rarely found. The following cases in Chaucer come under consideration.

Cunnen.

Tr. IV. 530. *To ravysshe* here, ne *kanstow* not? for shame![1]

Tr. III. 83. And sire, his lesson that he wende *konne*,
To preyen her.

This means simply, "that he thought he knew, to pray her," *konne* not being an auxiliary here.

Willen.

Bl. 1234. And never *to false* yow, but I mete, *I nyl*.

Here the infinitive is no doubt influenced by v. 1231, I swor hir this.

Tr. II. 1223. ne make her selven bonde
In love; but as his suster, hym *to plese*
She wolde fayne, *to don* his herte *an ese*.

Here *wolde* is an independent verb.[2]

Shullen.

Tr. V. 1079. And certes yow *to haten* shal I nevere,
And frendes love that shal ye han of me.[3]

R. B. 2125. if thi trouthe to me thou kepe,
I *shal* unto thyn helpyng eke,
To cure thy woundes and make hem clene.

[1] Cp. reads *go ravysshe*. I suggest another possible interpretation. Cl. reads (as punctuated in the MS., which only occasionally marks the cæsura):

Why nylt thy self helpen don redresse.
And with thy manhod letten al this grame.
To ravysshe here. ne kanstow not for shame.

It is at least grammatically possible to read it, "Why will you not yourself help to do redress, and with your manhood end all this grief *by ravishing her*? Can you not?"

Cf. Tr. IV. 642. she wol ben *evele apayed*
To ravysshen here.

[2] For *willen* as an independent verb with the infinitive, see above, p. 97.

[3] For other cases of the prepositional infinitive, outside of Chaucer, after auxiliaries, "wenn er mit starkem nachdruck dem hülfzeitwort vorangeht," cf. Kaluza, *Eng. Stud.* XIV. p. 179. For cases where the infinitive follows the auxiliary at some distance, cf. Reul, p. 118; Baldwin, p. 73. Some of Baldwin's examples can be explained otherwise.

In the present example, Cp. and H read *ne* instead of *to*. If *to* is right, Kaluza's rule would apply; *to haten* and *frendes love* are in emphatic contrast, and both precede their verbs.

Here *to cure* probably does not depend immediately on *shal*, but denotes purpose. Cf. the French:

Se tu te tiens en leaute,
Ge te donrai tel deaute,
Qui tes plaies te garira.

Kepe may be understood after *shal*, or *shal* may have its earlier sense of obligation; cf. *donrai . . . leaute.*

Tr. IV. 1555. But that ye speke, away thus *for to go*
And leten alle youre frendes, God forbede
For ony womman that ye *sholden* so.

Here *for to go* may be in apposition with *that*, object of *speke*, while *do* is to be understood after *sholden.*

CHAPTER XI.

THE OBJECT INFINITIVE.

In this chapter are included infinitives which are objects of transitive verbs in such a way that the subject of the infinitive, expressed or implied, is object of the governing verb. In O.E. the simple infinitive seems to have been the original construction, but the prepositional came in early. Aside from the general tendency to substitute the prepositional for the simple infinitive, the prepositional is used in M.E. after many words like *commeven, compellen, constreynen, driven, enclynen,* and the like, after which the original force of the preposition *to* is still evident and appropriate, and after which *to* with noun objects is also used, as in

Bo. V. p. 3, 166. *constreineth* hem *to a bitydinge.*

Cf. First Eng. Petition to Parliament (Emerson, *Mid. Eng. Read.*, p. 235, 5). We have be comaunded . . . *to* unnedeful . . . *doynges*, and also *to wythdrawe* us.

This is true of verbs of causing, such as *maken*, *techen*, etc., but not of verbs of perception like *sen*, *heren*, etc., which still have the simple infinitive in Chaucer as in O.E.[1]

Old English.

1. With object expressed, which is logical subject of the infinitive.

Beow. 2551. *let* þa of breostum . . . Weder-Geata leod *word* ut *faran* (K. p. 54).

Beow. 386. *hat* [*hig*] in *gan* (K. p. 54).

Beow. 118. *fand* þa þær inne æðelinga gedriht *swefan* æfter symble (K. p. 60).

Köhler's citations from the Beowulf show no cases of prepositional infinitive after verbs where the logical subject of the infinitive is the object of the governing verb.

Bo. 394, 14. and *tæc me* ðinne willan *to wyrcenne* (Wf. p. 206).

C.P. 445, 29. ðonne ne *gælð us* nan ðing *to fullfremmanne* ða godan weorc ðe we nu wyrceað (Wf. p. 210).

Ps. 39, 7. ne *bud* þu *me* na ælmesan *to syllan* (Wf. p. 208).

2. Without object expressed.

Beow. 3096. ond eowic *gretan het* (K. p. 37).

Beow. 273. swa we soðlice *secgan hyrdon* (K. p. 42).

Be. 565, 20. rihte Eastran *to weorþianne lærde* (Wf. p. 206).

C.P. 164, 10. ða isernan hierstepannan he *tæhte* for iserne weall *to settonne* (Wf. p. 206).

[1] The same relation between the prepositional infinitive and the prepositions *to* and *for* with nouns can be seen also in connection with verbs which take the complementary infinitive (see p. 88, above). It is perhaps noteworthy that there, in connection with auxiliary verbs where such an analogy between *to* + inf. and *to* + nouns as R.A. 597, I entende *to nothing* But . . . *for to kembe* and *tresse* me, did not work, and also here in the case of verbs of perception, the simple infinitive never gave place to the prepositional to any extent. This suggests that the great spread of the prepositional infinitive was not wholly due, perhaps only slightly, to a general substitution of the latter for the simple infinitive, but was rather due to an extension of the *original construction* of the prepositional infinitive as more closely related to the construction of prepositions + abstract nouns. This possibility is to be considered also in connection with the spread of the prepositional infinitive as subject, which, as we have seen under Adjectives, was probably greatly enhanced by a transference of the dependent infinitive to the subject relation, as in *it is good to do*. See pp. 49 ff.

Old French.

1. With object expressed as logical subject of the infinitive.

Rou, II. 1210. La Dame *les fist* a ses ostels *sujurner* (S. p. 228).

Rol. 1281. E Anseis *laisset le cheval curre* (S. p. 229).

Rou, III. 9692. Al rei Ros le *fist a saveir*
Qu'il voleit (S. p. 228).

2. Without expressed object.

Rol. 3248. De plus feluns *n'orrez parler* jamais (S. p. 229).

For other examples, cf. Sörgel, pp. 226 ff.

Chaucer.

Here the arrangement of material is similar to that of the Complementary Infinitive. As the simple infinitive is far more frequent with some verbs, not all cases are recorded; but the fact is always indicated if they are not. The simple infinitives are at the left of the page, those with *to* in the middle, and *for to* at the right.

1. Verbs of causal content.

Ablen. Bo. III. m. 9, 37		
Agasten.	Bo. IV. p. 6, 323	
Amonesten.	I 583	
Anoyen.		I 687
Axen.	B 2722	
Bisetten.	Bl. 1096 (2)	
Bidden.[1] A 787 (44)	H.F. I. 186 (12)	B 1849 (13)
Bireven.	Tr. I. 685 (2)	
Binden.	Bo. II. p. 2, 53 (1 active, 4 passive)[2]	
Bisechen, biseken. B 993, 1431, 2242, Tr. V. 1453, 1734, G 639	Tr. II. 1420 (16)	B 2164 (2)
Causen.	B 4119 (8)	A 1095
Chargen. L. 1189	B 209 (5)	G 287
Clepen.	Bo. IV. p. 6, 10	

[1] With passive: Lb. 366. *him* was boden *maken.*
D 1030. *this knyght* was bode *appeere.*

[2] A 1149. Thou *art ybounden* as a knyht *To helpen* me.
These cases may perhaps be regarded formally as passives of the reflexive *binden him* (see Complementary Infinitive, pp. 88 ff.).

Comanden.	B. 3351 (9)	E 533
Commeven.	Tr. V. 1783 (3)	
Compellen.	I 592 (3)	
Confermen.	C.M. 20	
Conseilen. P.F. 633	D 66 (6)	
Constreynen.	I 594 (17)	E 800
Defenden.	B 2411 (4)	
Demen.	Bo. I. p. 4, 130	
Disponen.		Tr. IV. 964
Distourben.	B 2167 (3)	
Distreynen.	Tr. V. 596 (2)	I 104
Don. A 2396 (80)	B 4620 (21)[1]	Tr. II. 853 (6)
Driven.	Tr. V. 1332 (4)	
Eggen.	R.A. 182	
Egren.	Bo. IV. p. 6, 335	
Enclynen.	Bo. I. p. 4, 261	
Encumbren.		I 687
Enforcen.	R.C. 6407	
Enhorten.	L. 1440	
Ensaumple yeven.	B 2692	
Exciten.	D 1716	
Flateren.	I 618	
Forbidden.	R.C. 6615 (2)	I 327
Glosen.	Tr. IV. 1471	
Graunten. Tr. II. 588	B 2570 (10)	E 1258 (3)
Guiden.	Tr. I. 569	
Gyen.	A 2786	

[1] In the constructions like R.A. 1583, Bo. IV. p. 6, 6, *don you to understonde*, Mätzner (*Gr.* II. 2, p. 12) explains the pronominal object as a dative, corresponding to Modern German. At any rate, the accusative appears early, and the case of the object was undistinguished from the accusative by Chaucer's time. *N.E.D.* cites O.E. Chron. an. 1127. Se ilce Heanri dide *þone king to understandene* þæt. . . . This is the earliest citation of this idiom in *N.E.D.*, though Mätzner cites Orosius. The case in Orosius has *gedyde* but *N.E.D.* does not enter it under *ido*, the earliest citation for the latter being 971.

Other cases of the idiom in Chaucer are: Tr. II. 1635 (Cp. MS.) *do you wyte;* Bl. 1260. *do* hir *knowe* and *understonde.*

Wülfing cites three cases from Alfred, the one from Orosius mentioned, 126, 31, and Be. 594, 4, C.P. 356, 5 (Wf. p. 209).

Helpen. C 954, Tr. IV. 26, 285, H.F. III. 349	A 1484 (14)	A 4246 (3)
Heten.		R.B. 2803
Holden (passive).	B 2893 (7)	I 517
Kepen.	R.B. 3907	
Leden.	Bo. III. p. 12, 88 (2)	
Leten.[1] A 188, etc.	F 1415, Tr. V. 226	
Letten.[2]	La. 251 (5)	A 1892 (2)
Leven (allow). L. 2280, D 1644[3]	Tr. V. 959	B 1873 (2)
Leven (leave behind). G 534, Tr. V. 195, L. 968		
Maken.[5] A 947 (70)	B 3294 (92)	D 848 (29)[4]

[1] L. 2083, And *lene me* never suche a case *befalle*, is ambiguous, either infinitive or subjunctive.

[2] The fact that no case of simple infinitive with *letten* occurs in Chaucer, and only two prepositional infinitives occur with *leten*, seems to confirm the reading of Tr. IV. 200, *lat hem not diserne*, as against *letteth hem discerne*, adopted by the Globe editor.

[3] This may be subjunctive.

[4] On Bo. III. m. 11, 27, to support the reading *shall seen* (Sk. shal *seme*), Professor Liddell (Globe Ed., p. 399) cites Leg. A-text 156, Made hir lyk a daysie *for to sene*, in proof that *sene* has the sense of *seme*. Whatever may be true as to Gen. and Exod. 1923 (cf. Mtz. *Spr.* I. 1, p. 76), the present passage is not parallel. It means rather, "Made her like a daisy to look at." Cf. Adjectives, p. 49, 2, above.

[5] After *maken*, *don*, *haven*, the past participle is found in the place of a passive infinitive:

B 171. han doon *fraught* hir shippes.
E 1098. Hath doon yow *kept*.
B 857. Why wil thyn harde fader *han* thee *spilt*.
H.F. I. 155. *Made* the hors *broght* into Troye, A 1913.

Cf. Beow. 991. Ða *wæs haten* hreþe Heort innanweard folmum *gefrætwod*.

After verbs of perception also (cf. p. 107), the past participle often takes the place of a passive infinitive:

A 3429. I *saugh* to day a cors *yborn* to chirche
That now on Monday last I *saugh* hym *wirche*.

Possibly this is to be regarded as an elliptical passive infinitive. Cf. Be. 601, 10, and nænigne . . . ne butan ðe ic *gemette* . . . *abysegod beon* (occupatum reperi) (Wf. p. 190). So R.A. 258, *se* any grete lynage *Be brought*, and Bo. I. p. 4, 75. I *say* the fortunes . . . of the peple . . . *ben harmed*. Whether the infinitive *ben* was ever essential to the construction I cannot say, but there is a difference between a case like A 3429 (above) and a true past participle, as in A 144,

if that she saugh a mous
Kaught in a trappe, if it were deed or bledde,

i.e. "*that had been caught.*"

Moeven.	Bo. V. m. 457 (3)	
Monesten.	B.B. 3579	
Necessen.	Bo. III. m. 9, 8	
Preyen. Tr. II. 1458, 1701, III. 718, V. 315, Pt. 11, R.B. 3307	A 1483 (46)	B 2168 (6)
Proferen.	F 755	
Putten.	I 1045	
Reden. R.B. 4230	A 3068 (6)	R.B. 2289
Requeren.	Tr. II. 358 (3)	
Restreynen.		Tr. IV. 872
Setten on fire.	An. 52	
Shilden.	E 839	
Somonen, sompnen.	B 2652 (3)	B 2662
Sorten.	Tr. V. 1827	
Stiren.	B 2971 (2)	
Streynen.	B 4433 (3)	R.C. 7631
Suffren.[1] B 2595 (14)	B 815 (24)	B 796 (6)

Zeitlin (pp. 73 ff.) fails to note this difference; at least he quotes both kinds of examples without distinction; e.g., Tr. V. 1599:

I have eek seyn with teres al *depeynted*
Your lettre,

Here the participle *depeynted* is not essential to the construction, the idea being, —"I have seen your letter, (which is) stained with tears," not,—"I have seen your letter stained."

In H.F. III. 301, And on hir fete *wexen* saugh I
Partriches wynges redely,

the infinitive seems likely; though this form is possible for the participle, it is not Chaucer's usual form (as in H.F. III. 992, e.g.). The sense of visible growth is here appropriate; cf. vv. 278–286. For *redely* = quickly, cf. C 667.

The participle occurs in a mixed construction in F 1547. as ye han *herd me sayd* (: apayd). Probably this is on the analogy of *herd sayd*. Cf. also Tr. III. 303, *made* many a *lady* . . . *Seyd.*, and Tr. I. 1009. Cf. p. 108, below, note 2.

[1] On E 2044, he wol no wight *suffren bere* the keye,
Save he hymself,

Einenkel (p. 255) says, "eine interessante Constructionsmischung: *nowight* erweist sich durch seine Stellung deutlich als Accusativ, das ihm parallel gebrauchte *he* (*himself*) beweist aber, dass das gemeinsame *bere* (zu welchem zum Ueberfluss eine Handschrift noch *to* ergänzt) nicht als Infinitiv, sondern als Optativ zu fassen ist."

Here C, Cp., Pt., and L read *to*. On a point like this, even inconclusive MS. evidence for a reading may yet indicate how the construction was felt. Moreover

Techen.	H 132, Tr. III. 41, Ast. Pr. 79	A 654 (8) Fortune, 12 (3)
Troublen.		R.C. 6407
Usen.		I 245
Wernen (against).		D 333, Tr. III. 12
Warnen (toward).		B 2652
Willen.		R.C. 6118
Withstonden.		R.B. 3807
Wresten.		Tr. IV. 1427
Yeven.		Bo. III. m. 9, 6, E 2377 [1]

The logical subject of the infinitive is contained in a prepositional phrase dependent on the main verb.

Biseken. B 2940. we biseke *to youre wommanly pitee to taken* swich avysement.

Commanden. E 190. *to his officeres . . . to purveye.*

Cryen. A 4006. *Upon the wardeyn . . . To yeve* hem.
Tr. V. 1672. *after deth . . . to restore.*
H.F. I. 202. *On Eolus . . . To blowen.*
P.F. 278. *To whom . . . To ben* hir help.

Fraynen. B 1790. *To every Jew . . . To telle.*

Graunten. R.B. 3756. *to me* the Rose *kisse.*
(M'otroia un baisier en dons.)

Preyen. Tr. IV. 949. to the petouse Goddes . . .
To don.
B 3735, E 764, I 179, L. 2063; E 1353.

Senden. B 2918. *for thise . . . to come.*

Yeven. A 915. *to whom . . . to lyven.*
Bo. III. m. 9, 43.

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he does not prove that *here* is subjunctive or that the construction is mixed, for the nominative after *save* is common in Chaucer, even when we should use an objective case. Cf. e.g. E 507:

Ne I ne desire no thyng for to have,
Ne drede for to leese, *save* only *yee* (: be *inf.*).

Here E reads "thee *vel* yee."

[1] The past participle sometimes stands for a perfect infinitive after verbs like *leten.*

E 1991. wolde han lat hym *storven* . . .
Wel rather than han graunted hym hire grace.

2. Verbs of perception.

Felen. F 566 (17).
Fynden. D 1150, G 218,
L. 1499, R.C. 6857, Bl. 451,
Tr. II. 1462.[1]
Heren. A 953 (57).
Herknen. F 78.
Sen. B 4568 (81).[2]
Witen. Tr. V. 20.

3. The governing verb has no other object but the infinitive. If one were expressed it would be logical subject of the infinitive.[3]

[1] On Tr. II. 1462, He com, and *fond* here fro the mete *aryse*,
And sette hym down and spak right in this *wyse*,
Einenkel (p. 237) says: "ein anderes Beispiel ist wieder in anderer Weise fraglich: [cites this passage] es kann hier *arise* das Part. Prät. sein, dessen *i* schwebend ist und daher sehr wol mit ursprünglich langem *i* reimen kann. Vergl. Ten Brink, Chaucers Sprache u. Verskunst, § 35 a."
Ten Brink's example from Lb. 370:
To translaten that olde clerkes *writen*,
As thogh that he of malice wolde *enditen*,
hardly substantiates the rime of ĭ with ī. Here *writen* is in all probability not preterit plural, but present. The formula "Vergil says," "Horace writes," etc., usually occurs in the present in Chaucer. Cf. in the Legend:
Lb. 19. these olde wyse, . . .
That *tellen* of these olde appreved stories.
La. 274. storyis grete
That bothe Romaynys and ek Grekis *trete*.
La. 280. What *saith* Valerye, Titus, Claudyan?
La. 284, 305, 309, Lb. 526, 575.
Ten Brink's only remaining example, B 3578, *Armorik* : *brike*, is hardly convincing enough to establish this rime for Chaucer, which he confesses is rare.
Moreover, the sense of our passage is greatly improved by reading the infinitive: "He found her just getting up from the table." The use of the simple infinitive after *finden* is common enough. Though it occurs more frequently when the infinitive is a verb of rest, verbs of motion and others are also found.
Cf. D 1150. men may wel often *fynde*
A lordes sone *do* shame and vileynye.
R.C. 6857. Where *fyndest* thou a swynker of labour
Have me unto his confessour?
Langland, P. Pl. 11, 28. þou shalt *fynde* Fortune þe *faille* (Wandschneider, p. 63). Cf. O.E., C.P. 415, 23. ða he hie *gemette* swa *wandrian* (Wf. p. 187).

[2] In Lb. 202, metre seems to require *to*, though MSS. Fx. and Bodl. 638 omit it.

[3] In N.E. the passive infinitive has been substituted for the active in this construction. Whether it was felt as a passive in Chaucer is not decided by constructions like
Tr. V. 1469, *with a bor* . . .
She made up *frete* here corn and vynes alle.

Availlen.	I 243 (3)	I 245
Bidden. B 3784. he *bad* *greithen* his chaar. B 3797, G 422, Tr. II. 406, R.C. 6659	C 259	F 291, B 4163
Causen.	F 783, Tr. I. 252	
Comanden.	A 2865, B 3681, I 570, R.C. 7195	F 1370
Cryen.	A 2732	
Don. G 545, etc.[1]		L. 2574, 2715
Felen. L. 1787	Tr. IV. 727	
Heren. A 3364, etc.[2]		
Helpen.	A 3610, Tr. III. 1058	A 1651
Leten. L. 1864, etc. Lat se. A 891, etc.[3]	Tr. IV. 143	
Maken. F 1144	B 3257, R.B. 5551	
Ordeynen.	Bo. IV. p. 6, 117	
Speken.	La. 81	

In the foregoing cases the subject is indefinite. In the following cases the subject would be definite if expressed, and may easily be supplied.

Tr. IV. 196. And *to delyveren* Antenor they preyde.[4]
R.B. 2319. Whanne *to synge* they goodly preye.

The agent may be expressed by *with*, *by*, etc., even when the verb is clearly active.

Cf. L. 719. Tho name of everyche gan *to other sprynge*
By wommen, that were neyghebores aboute.

Cf. also the present attachment of such phrases to abstract nouns of action, as in "the *manufacture* of goods *by* skilled workmen."

With certain infinitives of verbs that could be used both transitively and intransitively no change of voice was necessary. It is possible too that this construction caused certain intransitive senses to develop. I suspect that this is the case in the expression "to hear a horn *blow*." Though the intransitive *blow* appears early, the sense here is different from what it is in "the wind blows."

[1] For *don* causal and auxiliary, see Appendix, pp. 153 ff.

[2] The past participle is sometimes found after *heren:* E 278. She had *herd sayd*. Cf. note 5, p. 104.

[3] *Lat be*, G 862, etc., and *lat gon*, L. 1213, etc., have the object of *lat* logical subject of the infinitives. But they essentially belong together with *lat se*, and were all probably felt as single verbs. Cf. H.F. III. 844, is *leten gon*, and the modern *let go of*.

[4] Cf. Tr. IV. 346. *graunted was . . . to yelden* so Criseyde.
Tr. IV. 211. *Delibered . . . to yelden* up Criseyde.

R.B. 3311. love wole *consente*,
That me assailith with bowe bente,
To drawe[1] myne herte out of his honde.
(consente Que je refraigne et que je dente.)
B 516. *mercy she bisoghte*
The lyf out of hir body *for to twynne.*[2]

In R.B. 5569 the infinitive is equivalent to an abstract noun as direct object:

What wolde he thanne ha yove [M.S. yow] to ha *bought*
To knowen openly her thought.
(acheter lores Qu'il en seüst ce . . .)

Cf. Chaucer's rendering of the same passage in Bo. II. p. 8, 49: with how mochel woldest thou *han bought* the fulle *knowinge* of this.

HAVEN, YEVEN, ETC.

The verbs *have* and *give* take the prepositional infinitive in more or less specialized senses. Fundamentally the constructions belong to the prepositional infinitive of purpose. The verb *have* with the infinitive comes to have the sense of *futurity, obligation, ability,* etc. The original construction of purpose has, however, remained alongside of the specialized senses, as in N.E. "he has a coat to wear."

Cf. Beow. 1851. þe Sæ-Geatas selran *næbben to geceosenne* cyning ænigne (K. p. 47).

Sometimes the infinitive, often with omission of the object of the main verb, comes to be attached more closely to *have,* though it is doubtful whether the infinitive can ever properly be called the direct object.

[1] The subject of *to drawe* refers to the same person as *myne.*
[2] If *twynne* is intransitive, *lyf* is subject of the infinitive. For the expression *mercy bisechen* with an object, cf. Conf. Am. I. 3167:
And ever among *merci she cride*
That he ne scholde his conseil hide.

The parallel construction with *agan* has become wholly stereotyped so that in N.E. the infinitive no longer denotes purpose.

Haven.[1]

1. With object which is logical object of the infinitive :

Field. A 886 (to)
Hous. Tr. I. 1065
Soule. E 2188 (for to)
Wheel (adverbially). H.F. III. 360
Wight. I 720
Moore. Bo. III. p. 12, 55 Tr. V. 1408
Ynough. H 66, Tr. V. 44, 1124
Moore than ynough. H 63
That. Tr. I. 1026, R.B. 4045 (ce que vous devés), R.B. 5080 (ado)
What. L. 2694
Ought. R.C. 6981 (riens à faire)
Nought. E 99, Tr. III. 675, Damours, 34
Nothing. R.A. 400 (El ne se pooit mes aidier)[2] R.B. 3886 (dont il n'avoit que faire)
Nat (> adverb). Lb. 465, B 4441 Tr V. 1156[3]

2. Object replaced by an adverb :

Thider. C 749
So wyde. A 2454

3. With neither object nor adverb after *haven :*

Haven to don with. A 3777, Tr. II. 213, V. 846, C.M. 234, R.B. 4650 (afaire avoies).

4. With an object of the infinitive which could originally have been object of *haven :*

Tr. II. 1694. To yow *have* I *to speke of* o matere.

5. Haven of kynde, of proprete by kynde. Bo. II. p. 5, 175, B 4141.

[1] In the case of *haven* the logical subjects of verb and infinitive are identical. But from the similarity of the idiom to that with *yeven*, the examples are included here rather than under the complementary infinitive. Likewise *haven leef* is included in the present chapter in order to get together the idiomatic uses of *haven* with the infinitive. See p. 111.

[2] Apparently in the sense of *be able.*

[3] Cl. reads *not . . . to doon ;* Cp. = *nought for to. For to* seems to be required for the metre.

Yeven, senden, etc. + drynken, etc.

1. With (direct) object besides the infinitive:

L. 2667. a draught or two
Yife hym *drynke* when he goth to reste.

2. Without direct object:[1]

(*a*) Simple infinitive.

A 1470. For he hade *yeve* his gayler *drynke* so.
A 3492. Fecche me *drynke* (: *swynke* ind. plu.).
B 3232. And *sende* hym *drynke*, or elles moste he deye.
C 886. *yaf* his felawe *drynke* also.
Tr. II. 651. who *yaf* me *drynke* (: *synke* inf.).
G 1193. Now *yeve* us *drynke*, quod the chanoun thenne.

(*b*) With *to*.

A 4157. to *yeve* the child *to sowke*.

HAVEN LEEF, ETC.

The infinitive is used as direct object of a transitive verb and is accompanied by a predicate adjective or noun.[2]

1. Adjective in predicate:

Haven levere.

F 692. he *hath levere talken* with a page.
H 169, Tr. II. 471, Bo. I. p. 5, 31, III. p. 9, 100, Bukton, 13, R.B. 3417, R.C. 6793; (to) F 1360, 1531; (for) Bo. I. p. 5, 12, IV. p. 5, 8.

Sholde have levere.

Tr. IV. 566 (to).

[1] For the use of *give to drink*, etc., in O.E. prose, cf. Shearin, pp. 13 f., where he gives examples of *sellan drincan, etan, supan, ðicgan; beran drincan, don* (*him*) *drincan, hladan drincan*. See ib., p. 26, for the prepositional infinitives *sellan to drincanne, to etanne*, etc., which, though less common than the simple infinitive in O.E., are still rather frequent. The prepositional infinitive is found with *sellan* and *habban* in Beowulf, 1731, 1851 (K. p. 47), and the simple infinitive once with *sellan* (K. p. 43).

For the Chaucer examples with *drynke*, it is to be remembered that O.E. had a weak noun *drinca*. It is impossible to say in most cases whether we have noun or infinitive in Chaucer, and was probably impossible then as well. And there are also the cases where *drynke* is certainly noun, as B 498: mete and drynke have.

[2] See note 1, p. 110.

Hadde (pret. subjunctive).

D 168. *hadde* I *levere wedde* no wyf.

F 1596, G 1376, H 78, Tr. II. 1509, Bo. II. p. 5, 126; (to) E 2163, L. 1536, R.B. 4081; (for) F 1476.[1]

Haven as, so leef.[2]

(to) D 1574, R.A. 758; (for) D 1574.

Rather (elliptical).

An. 300. *rather* deth, then *do* so . . .

Mixed constructions.

Hadde hire levere, him levere, etc.

E 445. *had hire levere have born.*

B 1027, R.B. 5392.

2. Noun in predicate:

Demen it felonye. (to) Bo. V. p. 3, 27.

Holden it a gentrie. (to) I 601.

Holden it a deyntee. (to) Tr. II. 164.

Holden it folye. (to) Lb. 326, La. 252.

CHAPTER XII.

THE INFINITIVE AS SUBJECT OF VERBS, NOUNS, AND ADJECTIVES, NOT USUALLY REGARDED AS IMPERSONAL.

OLD ENGLISH.

Constructions in O.E. that show the infinitive as subject of expressions other than the stereotyped ones called impersonal, are rare. I find no cases cited in the syntactical works on O.E. poetry before Alfred.

[1] F 1600 is ambiguous: she *levere had lost* that day hir lyf. This may be (1) she levere [adverb] had lost [plup. subjunctive], or (2) she had levere [adjective] [have] lost. *Levere* is found as adverb as early as 1297 (*N.E.D.*).

[2] For *me is leef*, etc., cf. Impersonals, pp. 131 ff.

Wülfing cites one doubtful case of the simple infinitive (p. 197) and three cases with *to*.

C.P. 236, 10. swæ *dere*ð eac hwilum sumum monnum ðæt soð *to gehieronne* (p. 211).

Bo. 90, 23 and 214, 15 (with *noun*, p. 211).[1]

Old French.

Subject of noun.

Rou, II. 937. *Se vanter* e *menter*, l'un e l'altre ert *folie* (S. p. 291).

Tr. 1095. *Lede chose* est *de manacier* (S. p. 292).

Subject of adjective.

Theb. 1174. Car *mal* lor est tant *sejorner* (S. p. 294).

Subject of verb.

The completely substantivized (often inflected) infinitive is commonly used as subject of verbs. For numerous examples cf. Sörgel, pp. 217 ff.

Chaucer.

Subject of adjectives and nouns.

On pp. 49 ff., above, were recorded cases of the infinitive after certain adjectives and nouns where the infinitive was sometimes dependent and sometimes subject of the adjective or noun, and sometimes the syntax was ambiguous. Only a few illustrative examples were given of the unambiguous infinitive subject. In the present chapter are included a fuller list of cases where the infinitive is clearly subject of adjectives and nouns in such constructions as may be thought of as possibly interchanging with the dependent construction. After these cases follow those in which it is less likely that such an interchange is to be thought of.[2]

1. Adjective predicate.

Bet, Better.

Bl. 844. hit were *beter serve* hir.

[1] For the infinitive subject of adjectives in O.E. see pp. 49 ff., above.

[2] Naturally, the two kinds of cases cannot be made mutually exclusive. When once such a subject construction is established as B 2454, *for to persevere longe in synne is werk of the devel;* then such a case as R.C. 6019, *thilke oth to holde is resonable*, could arise either by analogy of the first, or it could arise from the construction *thilke oth* [subject] *is resonable-to-holde*. The cases therefore which are given in the first part of the section are illustrative, cited because of their general similarity to the examples on pp. 49 ff., above.

B 114. *Bet* is *to dyen* than *have* indigence.[1]

B 2818, 2820, I 1053, Tr. II. 230, R.B. 2619, R.C. 7513.[2]

Convenable. I 371, Tr. II. 1137.

Fair. D 439, R.B. 3766.

Fals and foul. Tr. IV. 993.

Good, Goodly.

B 3969. And *of swich thyng* were goodly *for to telle.*

D 87, I 354, 873, 960, Tr. III. 764, Bo. III. p. 10, 4.[2]

Grisly. C. 473. it is *grisly for to heere* hem swere.

Hard. E 562, E 1164. It were ful *hard to fynde*
. . . Grisildis thre or two.

Tr. I. 836, II. 1241, IV. 1373, R.B. 2613, 4294.

Leveful. A 3912. For *leveful* is, with force of *showve*, Bo. II. m. 8, 11.

Mannysh. B 2454.

Necessarie. Ast. II. 5, 6.

Pertinent. B 2204.

Possible. D 1367 (cf. p. 132).

(In) power. Bo. V. p. 6, 271.

Profitable. B 2218.

Wikke. I 566.

Adjective phrases.

Blisful thing. Bo. III. p. 2, 48.

Foul thing. C 524.

Glorious thing. E 1268.

Hard thing. D 271, Bo. IV. p. 4, 70.

Pitous thing. E 1086, Bl. 84.

Thing possible to do, Damours, 16, it were thing possible to do, *T'acompte* youre beutee.

Greet emprise. I 691.

2. Nouns.

Best. Tr. I. 597, II. 382.

Cursednesse. Bo. III. p. 10, 103.

Custume. D 682.

Deyntee. L. 920, E 1112.

Disese. B 3961.

Folye. B 2255, Tr. IV. 1511, V. 263, R.B. 2601, 5742.

Game. A 2286.

Hevene. Tr. II. 637, III. 1742.

Joye. B 4067, C 399, G 579, 746.

Labour and cost. C 537.

Manere. Tr. V. 809.[3]

Melodie. H 114.

Mervaille. B 502.

Meschief. D 248.

Paradys. R.A. 1325.

Penaunce. Venus, 79.

Peyne. B 3976, Tr. IV. 478.

Peril. D 89.

[1] Note that *have* (transitive) could lend itself to the dependent construction: "indigence is better to have," while *to dyen* is not possible in such a construction.

[2] These examples are syntactically the same as those recorded under Impersonals, p. 130; they are cited here in view of their relation to the dependent construction.

[3] Here the infinitive may be dependent or appositive.

Pite. La. 286.
Pley. E 1530.
Rejoysynge. H 246.
Repreve. D 84.
Routhe. Tr. II. 664, L. 1249.
Sorwe. Tr. V. 458, 459.
Synne. A 3146, I 883, R.C. 7547, Bo. V. p. 3, 137.
Tene. H.F. I 387.[1]
Tormentrie. D 251.
Wast. D 500.
Wit. Tr. IV. 1611.
Wonder. F 253, Tr. II. 743, V. 261.
Wone. A 335, Tr. II. 318, Damours, 48.
Wrecchednesse. Bo. IV. p. 4, 26, 27.
Wysdom. A 3041.

The infinitive is used as the subject of adjectives, nouns, verbs, and equivalent phrases, where there is not likely to be any crossing to the construction of the dependent infinitive after adjectives and nouns.

1. Adjectives, and phrases like *in veyn* which are equivalent to predicate adjectives.

E 2373. Was no thyng *bet* . . .
Than *strugle* with a man.
G 843. Al is *in veyn* . . .
To lerne a lewed man this subtiltee.

I 239, Tr. IV. 436, P.F. 570, Bl. 16, R.B. 2151; I 1027, Bo. V. p. 1, 28 (adverbial predicate: *in stede of reste*).

2. Noun predicate.

E 2115. "Passe over" is an *ese*.[2]
Tr. III. 1634. As gret *a craft* is *kepe* wel as *wynne*.
R.B. 3529, 4841, Tr. III. 367;
A 1680. it is al his *joye and appetit*
To been hymself the grete hertes bane.
D 51. *to be wedded* is no *synne*.

A 2538, 2722, 3146, 4409, B 2215, D 1293, 2030, E 732, 1513, 1768, F 895, 1407, G 731, 1411, Tr. I. 818, II. 705, III. 583, 646, 1515, IV. 596, 1504, H.F. II. 449, L. 2232, Fortune, 22, Damours, 62, P.F. 508, An. 149, Bo. I. p. 5, 26, II. p. 5, 96, V. p. 6, 66,

[1] Here the cæsural pause in the MS. indicates the syntax, which would be ambiguous without it.
[2] Instead of infinitive this may be simply the imperative quoted as a stereotyped phrase. Cf. B 1633. But now *passe over*.

R.B. 1940, 2205, 2522, 2628, 2901, 4198, R.C. 7245; (for) A 225, 1129, B 2183, 2454, 3498, 3603, 3974, C 595, 693, E 481, 908, I 461, 877, Tr. I. 690, 927, II. 855, III. 524, V. 325, 458, Venus, 1, R.B. 2320, 3525, 4891.

Certain nouns in the predicate, as *wille*, *entente*, etc., give a sense to the subject construction similar to that of the infinitive with nouns, the infinitive in apposition, and the infinitive as predicate.

A 1104. if it be thy *wil*
Yow . . . *to transfigure.*
B 3471, E 326, Tr. IV. 635, Lb. 471, L. 1617.

Certain cases anticipate or resume the infinitive by a pronoun, *this*, *that*, *it*, etc. According to strict grammar the infinitive is in apposition with the pronoun. But the construction is equivalent to that of the subject. Most of these cases are included under apposition, except in the case of *it* where it precedes the infinitive. The sense is, of course, the same when *it*, as frequently, follows its infinitive, but the latter shows a convenient connecting link between a real apposition and one in which the appositive word (*it*) has become colourless. The cases with *it*, therefore, are included under the subject infinitive, except when *it* follows its infinitive. The following examples are here given to show the connection between the categories of subject infinitive and apposition.

D 1630. *that* is nat myn *entente*
. . . *for to repente me.*
C 849. *this* was . . . his fulle *entente*
To sleen hem bothe.
R.B. 3547. *To stonde* forth in such duresse,
This cruelte and wikkidnesse.
Tr. V. 788. *to gon* assaye here now
. . . *it* nyl not ben my prow.

For others, cf. Apposition, pp. 143 ff.

3. Verb predicate.

G 857. *To tellen* al wolde passen any Bible.
Tr. II. 1371, V. 285, H.F. II. 508, III. 84, Lb. 134; (for) F 606, 653, Bo. III. p. 4, 77, An. 8, Bo. IV. p. 2, 264.

The infinitive sometimes becomes subject when the object infinitive construction is changed from active to passive. For cases when the

noun or pronoun object (subject of infinitive) in the object infinitive construction becomes subject of the passive construction, cf. Object Infinitive, p. 102, notes 1, 2; p. 104.

A 1225. Now *is me shape* eternally *to dwelle.*
A 2972, B 2178, Tr. IV. 211, Bo. II. m. 7, 26.

4. Infinitive predicate.

I 307. *to love* God is *for to love* that he loveth.
I 62. it was *for to doone*
To enden in som vertuous sentence.
R.C. 7359. Whether it *to done* were
To maken hem.

5. With a verb predicate the infinitive is also in apposition with a pronominal subject, which in the case of *it* becomes colourless.

Tr. III. 1735. it *undon* on any manere syde
That nyl not *ben.*
Tr. III. 113. his manly sorwe *to byholde*
It myght han mad an herte of stoon to rewe.
F 34. But *for to telle* yow al hir beautee
It lyth nat in my tonge.

6. Sometimes a construction appears in which the infinitive is complement of the main verb, but in such a way as to suggest the subject relation. One case is unambiguous:

R.B. 2349. For the *wordis* litel *greve*
A man *to kepe* whanne it is breve.

Possibly this is due to the French original, though the construction now seems natural enough to English:

Car la parole mains est *grieve*
A retenir quand ele est brieve.

Three cases are ambiguous; the infinitive may be subject:

Tr. III. 1576. *which* chargeth nought *to seye.*
Tr. III. 1689. *This* passeth every wyt *for to devyse.*
E 1543. *al this* axeth leyser *for tenquere.*

Here the infinitive may be subject and *al this* its object, or it may depend on *leyser.*

CHAPTER XIII.

THE INFINITIVE WITH IMPERSONALS.

THE infinitive is used as the so-called subject of impersonal verbs and phrases. The change in M.E. from impersonal constructions like *me list* to *I list*, suggests that probably long before the constructions changed their form they had come to be felt as personal, i. e. that the person in such a sentence as *me list* was felt as acting and not as being acted upon. It is therefore likely that the infinitive with such expressions was felt to be complementary in Chaucer's time and possibly much earlier.

For a full discussion of the change from impersonal to personal constructions, see Van der Gaaf (*v.* bibliography). I have used Van der Gaaf's notation for the sake of convenient reference to his work. **A** indicates an impersonal construction in which the logical subject of the infinitive is a dative or accusative depending on the main verb, or on the noun or adjective of the governing impersonal phrase; e. g. *him* likes to go, *it* likes *a man* to go. **B** denotes that that logical subject is ambiguous in form, and that nothing determines whether it is subject or object of the governing verb or phrase; as, *a man* likes to go. **C** denotes that this logical subject is object of a preposition; as, it likes *to a man* to go. **D** denotes that the logical subject is unambiguously the subject of the governing verb or phrase, as shown by the form of the word or of the verb of the predicate; as, *he* likes to go, *men like* to go.[1] To this notation I have added another symbol, **X**,

[1] That is, the construction is that of the complementary infinitive.

to indicate an impersonal construction in which the logical subject of the infinitive and object of the impersonal is not expressed; as, *it behooves to go.*

The question will frequently arise as to whether some examples may not just as well be included with the infinitive as subject of personal expressions. This raises the whole question of the nature of the so-called impersonal verb and equivalent phrases. That there is no fundamental difference between "personal" and "impersonal" is pointed out by Van der Gaaf (§ 2).

The distinction is largely an arbitrary one; *him is good to go* sounds "impersonal" enough, but *it is a good plan for him to go* does not seem like an impersonal, though it is in all essentials the same as the first. The important fact to be remembered is, that the infinitive as subject of personal verbs and of other phrases is at bottom the same as the infinitive as subject of "impersonals"; the difference is mainly one of the stereotyping of certain combinations from their frequency of occurrence.

As a rule, I have included only constructions that appear in the **A** type in Chaucer. Some are included which show no **A** type in Chaucer with the infinitive, but appear in that form without it; others that show the **A** type in M.E., though not in Chaucer.

Except in the case of the verbs *lysten* and *neden*, my lists are intended to be exhaustive for Chaucer.

Old English.

Beow. 1793. Geat ungemetes wel, rofne randwigan, *restan lyste* (K. p. 38).

Be. 492, 38. eall ðas ðing ðære niwan ðeode Ongelcynnes on Godes geleafan *gedafenaþ* cuþ *habban* (oportet haberi) (Wf. p. 196).

Be. 595, 13. ðа *licode* ðam arfæstan foreseonde ure hælo hire ða halgan saule eac swylce mid longre hire lichoman untrumnesse *ademde and asodene beon* (placuit . . . examinari) (Wf. p. 196 "einmal.")

Or. 102, 25. and ic gehwam wille þærto tæcan þe hiene his *lyst* ma *to witanne* (Wf. p. 211).

Old French.

B. Chr. II. 14704. *Mettre covendra* peine e luite (S. p. 222).

Rol. 310. En Sarraguce sai ben qu'*aler m'estoet* (S. p. 222).

For further examples in O.F., cf. Sörgel, pp. 221 ff.

Chaucer.

1. Verbs.

Acorden.

A. Bo. IV. p. 3, 53. *thilke folk* . . . it *acordeth* and is convenable *to ben* goddes.[1]

C. (to) A 243.

Agrysen.

B. H.F. I. 210. That every *hert* myght *agryse*
To see hyt peynted on the walle.[2]

Anoyen.

A. G 1036. no thyng *anoyeth me*
To lene a man a noble.

Apertenen.

A. Bo. I. p. 4, 193. what *aperteneth me to speke.*

C. (to) B 2171, 2459.

[1] A glance at the number of prepositional infinitives with these verbs is sufficient comment on Einenkel's statement (p. 231) that "In Verbindung mit unpersönlichen Verben ist der reine Infinitiv die fast ausnamlose Regel." The verbs he cites are: *avaylen, byhoven, deynen, fallen, happen, longen, lysten, needen, semen, sitten, thynken.* The statement is repeated in *Anglia*, 13, p. 84, where he adds the verbs *liken, schamen, accorden, avauncen*, as also the verb *wondren.* He admits that the case he cites, Tr. II. 368, Men wolde wondren sen hym come or gone (Cl. = to se), looks suspiciously like a personal construction, but says the simple infinitive could "nur aus der unpersönlichen construction stammen." See above, p. 73 (*a*), and cf. Tr. V. 493.

[2] Though there are no clear cases of *agrysen* as impersonal in Chaucer, the fact that they occur outside of Chaucer (cf. Mtz. *Wb.*) has led me to record this example as an ambiguous case. It should be remembered that the impersonal *form* in these constructions would remain long after they came to be felt as personal, and therefore most of the **B** constructions were probably in reality personal.

Availlen.

X. I 300. *repenten hym* . . . may nat *availle;*
B 2235. *availleth to speken*, Form. Age, 25;
An. 216, I 90.

A. Beaute, 15. *me* ne *availeth* not *to pleyne.*
B 2828. it *availleth a man to have* a good name, Beaute, 20, 25.

B. A 3039. And here agayns no *creature* on lyve
. . . *availleth for to stryve.*[1]

Avauncen.

X. A 246. it may not *avaunce*
For to deelen with no swich poraille.

A. R.B. 3527. what may it *you avaunce*
To done to hym so gret grevaunce?

Bihoven.

X. (to) B 2360, I 811, Tr. IV. 1004, Bo. V. p. 4, 75

A. A 4027, Tr. IV. 1305, Bo. I. p. 4, 5, R.A. 1479; (to) B 2406, F 1359, Bo. II. p. 1, 102, 122, II. p. 3, 6, III. p. 9, 187, R.B. 1792, 2711, 4991.[2]

B. R.C. 6605. For *men bihoveth* in somme gise
Ben somtyme in goddis servise.

A D. I 630. *I*, servant of god, *bihoveth* nat *to chide.*[3]

Bityden.

X. Tr. III. 644. For hom *to gon* it may not wel *betyde.*

A. Bo. III. p. 11, 8. it shal *bityde me to knowe* . . . god.

Deliten.

A. P.F. 27. *To rede* forth it gan *me* so *delyte;*
Bo. IV. m. 4, 1, II. p. 3, 48 (venire delectat).

Deynen, disdeynen.

A. C.M. 39. That when *hir deyned caste* on him hir yë; (to) B 3324, 4371, An. 181, Lb. 395; (for) B 3460.

B. Tr. III. 1280. on whiche the *faireste* and the *beste*
. . . *deyneth* here herte *reste.*

[1] This use of *availlen* is to be distinguished from the cases where it takes a purpose or an object infinitive. See above, p. 108 (I 241).

[2] In Tr. I. 857, For who-so lyst have helpyng of his leche,
To hym byhoveth first *unwre* his wounde,
it is possible to take *to hym* with *byhoveth* as a **C** construction, but it is equally possible to make *hym* refer to *leche* and depend on *unwre.* In Bo. I. p. 4, 5, the same idea is expressed in an **A** construction.

[3] So E, Hg., L, H. C and Seld. read *I bihove.* Van der Gaaf records no cases of **D** except one in Landsay (p. 4, § 4).

An. 231, Tr. I. 435. ne *deynede sparen* blood royal
The *fyr* of love . . . Ne hym forbar.[1]

D. Tr. III. 1435. *thow* thus flest, and *deynest* us nought *reste*. Tr. III. 139; (to) Tr. III. 1811, R.B. 4832; (for) R.B. 5686.

Dullen.

A. G 1093. it *dulleth me to ryme*.[2]

Dreden.

A. D 1214. *drede you* noght *to been* a cokewold.[3]

Fallen,[4] bifallen, = happen.

A. A 2555. And if so *falle* the *chieftayn be take*[5]
On outher syde, or elles *sleen* his make;
Tr. III. 1401. *hem fille to speke*, Adam, (bifalle).

B. A 3272. *Nicholas*
Fil with this yonge wyf *to rage* and *pleye*.

Fallen = befit.

A. Tr. I. 142. *falleth* nought to purpos *me to telle*.

C. Bl. 374. as *to hunting fil to doon*, R.B. 4025.[6]

[1] In cases like this where the ambiguous subject-object is made to serve also for the subject of a personal verb, it is probably safe to assume a **D** construction. Still, similar anacolutha are so common in Chaucer that the above fact alone is hardly sufficient evidence without considering also the general movement toward the **D** type. Cf. e.g.:

B 4568. And *syen* the *fox* toward the grove *gon*,
And *bar* upon his bak the cok away.
R.C. 6915. And *forto han* the first chaieris
In synagogis *to hem* full deere is,
And *willen* that folk hem loute and grete.

Van der Gaaf (p. 141) thinks such combinations were instrumental in the change from **A** to **D**. It is doubtful how far they are *evidence* of it.

[2] Cf. Tr. IV. 1489. That *ye shul dullen* of the rudenesse.

[3] This may be reflexive instead of (pseudo-)impersonal. So with Van der Gaaf's citation from B 3918. Cirus soore hym dradde (§ 171).

[4] I suggest that *fallen* should be added to Van der Gaaf's lists. Cf. (without infinitive):

Tr. V. 642. if that *I fayle*
The *gydyng* of thi bemes,

i.e. "if they fail me," a true **D** construction as distinguished, e.g., from Pt. 112,

thou ne failest never wight at nede.

[5] E reads *if so be;* the rest read *falle* (*fal*). All six read infinitive *sleen*, while H reads *slee; be take* may be subjunctive.

[6] Strictly, these are not true **C** types, for the prepositional dative does not coincide with the subject of the infinitive. But the second example (*to thy name*) shows how one construction shades into the other, being nearly equivalent to *it befits you*.

The **A** type with *fallen* is seen (without infinitive) in the common phrase, e. g. Lb. 277: ever *falle hire* faire. The **D** type occurs La. 180, Lb. 186: *falle sche* fayre. Since *faire* is an adverb, *falle* is a true impersonal—without subject. Cf.

Greven.

X. Tr. V. 783. But *for to assaye*, . . . it nought ne *greveth.*

A. H.F. III. 29. *to clymbe greved me*, Bo. I. p. 4, 329.

D. Cf. Tr. I. 343. *ye* wolden at me *greve.*

Happen.

X. C.M. 142. hit *happed for to be.*

A. P.F. 10. *happeth me* . . . in bokes *rede*, Lb. 78; (to) C 885, D 989, 1401, G 649, L. 634; (for) P.F. 18.

B. F 1499. This *squier*, ... ,
Of aventure *happed* hire *to meete.*

Helpen.

X. A 2820. What *helpeth* it *to tarien* forth the day, B 3992, Tr. IV. 929, V. 1183.
Tr. V. 1552. *helpeth* not *to stryve.*[1]

Longen = desire, cause to desire.

A. E 2332. so soore *longeth me*
To eten of the smale peres grene, Tr. II. 312.

B. (to) Tr. V. 596, E 451.

D. (to) A 12; (for) A 13.

Thenken, Thynken long.

B. Tr. V. 1155. *thenk*[2] not longe *t'abyde*, R.B. 2715.

Longen = belong.

C. R.B. 2321. *to you* it *longith* ay
To harpe and *gitterne*, *daunce* and *play.*

Lyken.

A. Tr. V. 631. *hym liked* yn hise songes *shewe.*
Tr. V. 1366, Lb. 490, R.A. 879,[3] R.B. 1854; (to) D 97, 104, E 1482, Tr. V. 1324, Fortune, 59, C.L. 65, Bo. II. p. 2, 25,

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the similar phrase *well be to him*, and H 40 : *foule moote thee falle* (E=*thou*, rest *thee*).

Geten (without infinitive) shows an occasional **A** construction : B 647. wher-as *hym gat* no grace (2 MSS. = *he*), An. 206. *hir gat* no geyn.

[1] Cl. reads : Ayeyns which fate helpeth not to stryve. As *helpen* shows no other **A** constructions in Chaucer, perhaps this is the right reading, as against *hym helpeth.*

[2] If we do not assume the loss of final *e* of the subjunctive within the verse, this may be a **D** construction. For the confusion of *thynken* and *thenken* in this phrase, cf. Van der Gaaf, § 124. I do not feel sure that he has proved that this case may not be an original *thencan* in the sense of *consider it long.* It has here no sense of desire. That sense is appropriate, however, in R.B. 2715. *Thenke longe to see* the swete thyng. Cf. L. 2671.

[3] Possibly subjunctive.

III. m. 2, 1, III. m. 8, 9, IV. m. 1, 43, L. 1672, 2603, R.A. 801, R.B. 1854; (for) A 777, B 3173, P.F. 165, Ast. II. 3, 47, R.A. 1636.

B. (for) B 2254.

C. (to) B 2956,[1] B 2934; (for) G 1468,[2] Tr. I. 288.

D. (without infinitive).

Tr. II. 674. she gan enclyne
To *lyke* hym first.

L. 1075. And for he was a straunger, somwhat *shee*
Lyked him the bette, as, god doo boote,
To somme folke often newe thinge is swoote.[3]

Lysten.

A. A 2377. as *thee lyst devyse*, A 1695, 2074, 3866, B 521, 1382, etc;[4] (to) A 1201, F 331, Tr. II. 913, L. 996, R.A. 344, etc.; (for) B. 4466, E 111, F 147, R.A. 345, etc.

B. Tr. II. 159. alle *virtue list habounde.*

B 1206, E 1295, G 834, Tr. I. 857,[5] L. 1407, etc.; (to) B 3185, G 271, 1344, Tr. I. 398, III. 354, 1766, Compleynte, 5,[6] A.B.C. 172, R.B. 2074, 3185, 5028, etc.; (for) B 3509, Tr. I. 671, III. 1810, etc.

[1] Cf. note 6, p. 122, above.

[2] Syntax ambiguous: *But where it liketh to his deitee*, may be parenthetical, and the infinitive depend on *discovered bee.*

[3] The last two cases put beyond doubt the fact that *lyken* is used personally in Chaucer. Van der Gaaf says (§73), "I have not met with a single instance of the new construction in his works, and the above passage is the only one that may be interpreted as showing that Chaucer was acquainted with the **D** construction of *liken*." The passage referred to is E 106, us liketh yow. I think that Van der Gaaf is right in explaining this as indicating the **D** construction, rather than Skeat, who explains it (Glossary, s.v. *lyke*), "it pleases us with respect to you." I should go further and say that *us* was felt as *we* here, or what is perhaps more accurate, that no difference was felt between *us lyketh* and *we lyke;* cf. Tr. II. 25, Us thenketh hem. Tr. III. 1363 seems to show the same sense: But esy sykes, swyche as ben *to lyke*, i.e. "are to be liked." It is possible, of course, to regard *sykes* as coinciding with the logical *subject* of *to lyke*, though this is much the rarer construction with this type of predicate infinitive. Cf. pp. 136 ff., below.

R.A. 1357. a fruyt full well *to lyke*,
Namely, to folk whanne they ben sike,

is ambiguous, though *to folk* suggests the meaning *please.*

Skeat records no case of *lyken* = to like, in his glossary.

[4] In H.F. III. 487, Hem that *me lyst y-preysed be*, if the infinitive was felt as subject, it would have to include the accusative-subject *that.* It is far more likely in such a case that the sentence was felt, "Those whom I wish to be praised." Cf. Tr. II. 189.

[5] For the cases with *who, who-so*, see Van der Gaaf, §§ 35, 36.

[6] Cf. note 1, p. 122.

C. (to) Tr. III. 1817; (for) Tr. II. 700.

D. Lb. 575. After thise olde *auctours lysten trete.*[1]

B 2234, F 689,[2] R.B. 3532, R.C. 6950;[3] (to) Tr. I. 707, H.F. II. 3,[4] R.B. 1967.

Neden.

X. A 3166. Of the remenant *nedeth* nat *enquere.*

A 3000, B 2546,[5] 4172, D 1296,[5] F 298, 599, 1594, Tr. II. 916, III. 1676,[5] P.F. 609,[5] etc; (to) A 642, 1746, 3599, B 3765, D 2097, E 1615, F 453, Tr. III. 1576, 1684,[5] La. 254, L. 1098, Pt. 106, R.A. 1019, etc.; (for) C 230, E 457, Tr. II. 176, 1454, V. 1848, etc.

A. D 205. *Me neded* nat *do* lenger diligence.

D 1955, Tr. II. 1390, III. 1463, A.B.C. 118, R.A. 1454; (to) D 316, 1275, 1516, 1956, 2000, Tr. II. 11,[6] IV. 1344, Beaute, 18; (for) Tr. II. 462, V. 726, C.L. 10.

B. (to) I 705, Bl. 256; (for) D 274, R.A. 560.

C. Tr. III. 1681. Nought *nedeth* it *to yow* . . .

To aske at me.

An. 98. As *nedeth* not *to men* such craft *to lere.*[7]

[1] Fx. reads *for to*, which seems impossible metrically.

[2] E = listneth.

[3] Possibly a substantive clause.

[4] Fx. = listeneth.

[5] Examples like Tr. III. 1676, and P.F. 609, This shorte lesson *nedeth* not *recorde*, are not **B** constructions, since the noun is not subject or object of *nedeth* and logical subject of the infinitive; i. e. they are the **X** type, with the noun in question wanting. On the other hand, *lesson* here is object of the infinitive. Cf. also the following (and the first one quoted above):

A 462. *thereof* nedeth not *to speke*,
with D 2097. *Nedeth* namoore *to speken of it;*
Also Tr. III. 1676. *which* nedeth nought *devyse.*
A 3000. *Ther nedeth* noon *auctoritee allegge.*
B 4172. *Ther nedeth make* of this noon *argument.*

In these cases, when the object of the infinitive precedes *nedeth*, it might come to be felt as subject of a personal *nedeth*. This would require the change of the active infinitive to the passive in order to make consistent sense. I suspect that this is exemplified in D 1721 (see p. 126, under **D**). Here *it* may refer to *it* [money] in v. 1720, instead of being the colourless expletive *it*. In Van der Gaaf's example from Conf. Am. 3786, This *tale nedeth* noght *be glosed*, which he classes as a B construction (§ 32, p. 26), we should have, if my theory is right, not a confusion between subject and dative object of *nedeth* but between the object of the (formerly active) infinitive and a new subject of *nedeth*. The type of sentence like P.F. 609 is so frequent that it is at least possible that the development took place in this way. Further statistics on the use of the passive infinitive are, however, needed on this point.

[6] So Cp.

[7] As *lere* is both transitive and intransitive in Chaucer, this example is curiously ambiguous, giving essentially the same sense whether *to men* goes with *lere* = *teach*, or with *nedeth*, making *lere* = *learn.*

D. D 1721. Nat ther as it [money] is wasted . . .
Ne ther it *nedeth* nat *for to be yeve.*
Cf. I 700. men *that neden* no penitence.[1]

Nede is, it is nede.

X. Tr. III. 1788. no *nede* was hym *byseche*, Bl. 190; (to) Tr. I. 128, II. 1553, III. 466, 857, 1638, H.F. III. 252, L. 1706, Bl. 1128,[2] 1276,[3] Bo. I. p. 4, 292.

A. B 1299. *yow* were nede *to resten*, Tr. V. 336, 586.[4]

Rekken, recchen.[5]

A. A.B.C. 171. *him* ne *roughte* no-thing *to be slayn*, Bo. III. m. 8, 22; (for) L. 605.

D. A 1398. *I recche* nat *to sterve*, A 2246, E 1090, 1994, Tr. IV. 798; (for) C.M. 126.

(Dis)plesen.

A. R.B. 3101. Ser, not *you displese*
To knowen of myn gret unnese.

Semen = appear, with infinitive subject.

X. Bo. III. p. 6, 20. yif it *seme* a fair thing, a man *to han encresed and spred* his name.[6]
E 1743. Hire *to biholde* it *semed* fairye.

A. F 56. *Hem semed han geten* hem proteccioun
Agayn the swerd of wynter, Bo. II. m. 2, 14;
Bo. II. p. 7, 102. *yow men semeth*[7] *to geten* yow a perdurabletee, whan ye thenken that . . . your fame shal lasten.
Ast. Pr. 54. *me semeth* betre *to wryten*, Ast. II. 4, 5, II. 25, 32.

A few examples occur in which the *form* is that of the above **A** type, but the sense is that of the personal *semen* with the

[1] Cf. Van der Gaaf, § 150.
[2] Thynne and MSS. Fx. and Tanner read *to* with infinitive. Bodley reads *reherse.*
[3] Cf. note 5, p. 125, and Pall I. 232. The grenys *namys* is no ned *to telle.*
[4] *Nede haven* and *necessite haven* naturally are used only personally:
(to) I 1060, Tr. II. 1532, Bl. 1091, 1253, Bo. V. p. 4, 95. Cf. Infinitive with Nouns, p. 41.
[5] Note the two meanings of the negative with *rekken, recchen:* In Bo. III. m. 8, 22, reccheth nat to knowe, it means "*not wish to know*," while in A 1398 (above) it means, "I do not care *if I die.*"
[6] As to whether this is an **X** type, that is, an accusative with the infinitive, or rather an **A** type, see below, pp. 147 ff.
[7] According to MS. C, the basis of Skeat's text. Skeat reads (from MS. A), *ye men semen.* The Latin has vos . . . videmini, cum . . . cogitatis.

complementary infinitive, a distinction Skeat and Van der Gaaf have failed to note.

R.A. 213. So yvel hewed was hir colour,
Hir semed to have lyved in langour.
(Qu'el sembloit estre enlangoree.)

R.A. 305. *Hir semede to have* the jaunyce.
(Et sembloit avoir la jaunice.)

R.A. 313. *hir semede forto be.*
(Com il sembloit que ele eüst.)[1]

L. 1074. a lorde *him semed for to be.*[2]

Semen = befit, suit.

B. Bo. IV. p. 7, 80. the stronge *man* ne *semeth* nat *to abaissen* or disdaignen as ofte tyme as he hereth the noise of the bataile (virum fortem non decet indignari).

C. Bo. IV. p. 7, 83. ne also it ne *semeth* nat *to the wyse man to beren* it grevously, as ofte as he is lad into the stryf of fortune[3] (vir sapiens moleste ferre non debet).[4]

[1] I am inclined to place here B 3361: And lyk a beest *hym semed for to bee.* While *for to be lyk a beest, semed* (*to*) *hym*, is a possible construction, it seems less likely than *he semed for to be.*

[2] All MSS. except Camb. Gg., Pepys, and Add. read *him.* The latter read *he.*

[3] In R.A. 989, That bowe *semede* wel *to shete*
These arowis fyve
(Il devoit bien tiex floiches traire),
it seems likely that we have, at bottom, a **B** construction of this class; compare the sense of the French, "a bow such as might be expected to shoot well."
Cf. vv. 986 f. To hem was wel sittyng and able
The foule croked bowe hidous.
Van der Gaaf (§ 29) calls attention to the probability that the meaning "appear" is an outgrowth of the earlier meaning "be suitable, fitting." Here that sense would apply: "it seemed a fitting thing to such a bow to shoot these arrows well." The same border-line sense can be seen in Van der Gaaf's example from Gen. and Exod. 2169, It semet wel ðat ge spies ben, "it is suitable to you, from your appearance, etc., that you should be spies." These cases also look like examples of the origin of the peculiar meaning of *seem* in modern English = "to seem about to." Cf. Macbeth, I. ii. 46. So should he look that *seems to speak* things strange. That this is the outgrowth of the meaning "suits," "fits," appears to be shown also by Malory, Le Morte Darthur, p. 77, ll. 29 ff.: *me semeth* in my herte *to spede* right wel, "it seems to me that I *shall.*" Cf. l. 34 f. (in reply to ll. 29 ff.): it *semeth* not *yow to spede*, there as others have failed, "it is not *seemly* that you should succeed, not *likely*," etc.

[4] In Bo. I. p. 5, 56, I do not feel sure of the construction. Chaucer has, And of the felonyes and fraudes of thyne accusours, *it semeth thee* have y-touched it forsothe rightfully and shortly, al mighten tho same thinges betere and more plentivously ben couth in the mouthe of the poeple that knoweth al this.
The Latin is, De sceleribus fraudibusque delatorum *recte* tu quidem *strictim attingendum putasti*, quod ea melius uberiusque recognoscentis omnia vulgi ore celebrentur.
From this it is clear that Chaucer has not rendered the sense of the Latin, and

Semen, personal = appear.

Several examples of *semen* with the ordinary personal sense, followed by a complementary infinitive, are recorded here because of the frequent confusions with the impersonal constructions and the apparent similarity of form. Note that here in the types **X**, **A**, **C**, etc. (so called for convenience, though the verb is not impersonal), when *it* is used, it is the personal subject of the verb *semen*, and that the dative *hym, to him, etc.*, is not logical subject of the infinitive, as it is in the impersonal construction.[1]

(**X.**) R.A. 173. She *semed be* ful despitous.

F 1146. Somtyme hath *semed come* a grym leoun,
And somtyme *floures sprynge.*

Tr. I. 747. som tyme it is craft *to seme flee.*

H.F. III. 281, Bo. III. p. 2, 74; (to) R.A. 149, 436, Bo. III. p. 2, 123, III. p. 6, 28, IV. p. 2, 181, V. p. 1, 85, p. 4, 137, p. 5, 37, p. 6, 292; (for) R.A. 177, H.F. III. 1067.

(**A.**) Bo. IV. p. 4, 165. which mowinge *thee semeth to ben* unworthy. Tr. II. 802.

Bo. IV. p. 5, 27. what *semeth thee to ben* the resoun . . . ?

(**C.**) Bo. IV. p. 6, 183. thinges *semen to ben* confus and trouble *to us men.*

Shamen.

A. B 101. *To asken* help *thee shameth.*

Sitten.

X. E 1277. it *sit* wel *to be* so, E 460, Tr. I. 246.

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we cannot be certain therefore whether he meant *it semeth thee* to be the equivalent of *putasti.* If so, that leaves nothing to express the force of *attingendum.* But if *semeth* has here the sense of "it seems fitting," it would express the gerundial force. It may be that both ideas are combined in *semeth.* But the mistranslation of *recte* and *strictim* (which go with different verbs in Latin) and of *quod*, suggests that Chaucer's thought was confused here. Without reference to the Latin, Chaucer's language can be interpreted in several ways: (1) "It appears that you have," etc., taking *thee have* as *acc. c. inf.* and subject of *semeth;* (2) "It seems to you that you have, you think you have," etc., taking *thee* as dative object of *semeth;* (3) "It is fitting to you to have," etc.

[1] That this personal use of *semen* is not a **D** construction of the impersonal, is pointed out by Van der Gaaf (s.v. *semen*). In the true **D** construction *he semeth* means "he thinks." It is to be observed that the construction corresponding to modern *he seems* is logically a true **D** construction of examples like R.A. 213, *Hir semed to have lyved*, if we explain this as an **A** type of the sense "be fitting." Thus *hir semed to have lyved* might mean, "it was fitting to her (from her appearance)," and *she seemed* might then originally have meant, "she was a suitable one, etc." That the latter construction is historically descended from the former, however, needs further proof.

A. R.A. 750. It *sat hir* wonder wel *to synge*, B 1353, E 2315, Tr. I. 12, 983, 985, II. 117.[1]

Suffisen.

X. Bo. II. p. 1, 93. it ne *suffyseth* . . . *to loken*, B 2442, Bo. IV. p. 6, 393; (for) B 1290.

A. A 3559. *Suffiseth thee* . . .

To han as greet a grace as Noe hadde.

Venus, 54, Rosam. 15.[2 3]

Thurfen.

A. Bl. 256. *Him thar* not *nede* to turnen ofte, A 4320, D 329, 336, 1365, H 352, Tr. II. 1661, A.B.C. 76, Bo. III. p. 11, 103, R.B. 3761.

D. B 2258. *thar ye* nat accomplice.[4]

Bo. II. p. 3, 100. what *weenestow thar recche.*[5 6]

Thursten.

B. Tr. V. 1406. So *thursteth* ay myn *herte to biholde*, Lb. 103 (Fx. = trusteth).

Thynken.

A. Tr. III. 1697. *hem thoughte felen* dethes wounde, Tr. I. 294; A 3344. *To loke* on hire *hym thoughte* a myrie lyf, A 37, Tr. III. 1067, IV. 484, V. 120.

[1] Under *sitten* Einenkel (p. 231) says, "fand sich nur zweimal." He adds one case in *Anglia* 13, p. 86.

[2] For *suffisen* with purpose infinitive see p. 20, G 715. There the examples are not **D** constructions, but *suffisen* has its usual meaning *to be sufficient for* something. In a true **D** type it would mean *to be satisfied with* something.

[3] The verb *stonden* (not recorded by Van der Gaaf) shows an **A** construction changing to a **D** construction in Gower.

A. Conf. Am. II. 2124. *hem stant* no doute
To voide with a soubtil hond.
III. 1524. *him stant* of me no fere.
D. III. 2536. The remenant of folk aboute
Unethe *stonden* eny doute
To werre ech other and to slee.

[4] Strictly this is a mixture of **A** and **D**, since *thar* is not second person plural. But it is doubtful if the form would be changed in this obsolescent word even if the nominative *ye* were used, especially as *thar yow* was not felt to be different, probably, from the nominative. Cf. I 630. I . . . bihoveth nat to chide (E MS.). *Ye* may be the unemphatic form of *you*, as in Tr. I. 5.

[5] Skeat inserts *thee* and reads *what, wencstow, thar* [*thee*] *recche*. MS. A reads *wenest thou*. It seems likely that the construction is mixed.

[6] In R.A. 1089, 1324, where Skeat reads *thurte*, the MS. has *durste*. Mätzner (*Wb.*) quotes several M.E. examples of *durren* = dürfen, brauchen. If *durste* is the right reading we have a case of the pseudo-impersonal, like *him dreden*. In Tr. III. 572, Cl. reads *yow dorste have* nevere the more fere. Cp. reads *yow thruste*, H *thow thruste*.

L. 1975. A *kynges sone to be* in swiche prisoun
And *be* devoured, *thoughte hem* grete pitee.[1]

Werien.

A. G 1304. It *weerieth me to telle* of his falsnesse.[2]

2. Adjective phrases used impersonally, the infinitive being subject of the adjective as predicate.

Good ben.[3]

X. E 2109. For as *good* is blynd *deceyved be*,
As *to be deceyved* whan a man may se;[4]
(to) C. L. 123, I 354, Tr. III. 764.

A. R.C. 6316. *Hym* is right *good be* warre of me,[5] P.F. 511.[6]

Bet ben.[7]

X. D 778, Tr. III. 1223,[8] P.F. 514; (to) D 52, Tr. V. 1271, Bukton, 18; (for) Tr. V. 41.

A. (to) B 1934.

C. P.F. 571; (to) F 1422; (for) L. 2700.

[1] Cf. Tr. II. 1108. And she to laughe it thought here herte *brest*. Einenkel (p. 252) (reading *breste*) names this as an ambiguous case of infinitive or optative. Cl. and Cp. both read *brest*, and the rime *gest* shows the absence of final *e*. The indicative can be read as it stands: "it seemed that her heart was (lit. is) bursting." That the present indicative is possible after the past *thought*(*e*) is proved by an unambiguous case from

Conf. Am. VIII. 780. That as a vois celestial
Hem *thoghte* it *souneth* in here Ere,
As thogh that he an Angel were.

For *to laughe*, see above, p. 73.

[2] For a **D** construction of *weary*, cf. Child's Ballads, No. 227, Lizae Baillie, version *d*, st. 11:

She was nae ten miles frae the town,
When *she began to weary*.

[3] For four additional examples, cf. Chap. XII. 1 (p. 113).

[4] Einenkel (p. 250) classes this example as a case of Accusative with Infinitive. He says "die Substantive *blynd* sowie *man* . . . als Dative zu fassen würde gar keinen Sinn geben." The following clause, *whan a man may se*, ought to be clear enough indication that *blynd* is not here used as a *Nomen substantivum*, but as *Nomen adjectivum:* the sense is not, "good for a blind man to be deceived" (and if it were, it is not clear that to regard *blynd* as a dative after *good* would give "gar keinen Sinn"), but "good to be deceived when blind, if one is blind."

[5] Einenkel (*Anglia* 13, p. 83) says that the infinitive subject of *god ben* is not found in Chaucer. His statement is repeated by Redepenning (§ 89*a*). Of *best ben* with infinitive he says (*Strf.* p. 230), "nur einmal," quoting Tr. IV. 84.

[6] Here another group of MSS. reads *fair* for *good*.

[7] For three additional examples, cf. Chap. XII. 1 (p. 113).

[8] Possibly a substantive clause.

Better ben.[1]

X. B 2277; (to) B 2761, 2828, 3032.

A. B 2409; (to) B 2336, R.B. 1791.

C. (to) R.B. 3266, B 3031.[2]

Best ben.

X. (to) A 3055, L. 614, 2439.

A. (to) P.F. 152, E 1414, Tr. IV. 84.[3]

Fayr ben.

X. A 376. *fair to been ycleped Madame.*[4]

Lef ben.

A. Ch. to Purse, 5; (for) B 1349.

D. (to) A 3510, C 760; (for) R.B. 2335.

Levere ben.

A. A 293, C 615, F 1522, 1529, H 23, Tr. I. 1034, III. 591, C.L. 127, R.B. 3326, 6168, Bo. III. p. 9, 15; (to) Tr. III. 574, Bukton, 23; (for) A 3751.[5]

Levest ben.

A. Tr. II. 189; (for) H.F. I. 87.

Likly ben.

X. A 1172. And eek it is nat *likly* al thy lyf
To stonden in hir grace, B 3044, C 64.

Loth ben.

A. B 91; (to) A 486, E 364, F 1599, R.A. 223; (for) H 145, R.B. 3666.

[1] For five additional examples, cf. Chap. XII. 1 (p. 113).

[2] In R.A. 1646, *Me had bette bene* ellis where, *bene* may be a past participle. For a discussion of the construction, cf. Van der Gaaf, § 55.

E 2373, Nas no thyng *bet* to make yow to see
Than *strugle* with a man,

has a similar form to the **X** type. But here *bet* means not, *more suitable*, absolutely, but *more effective* for the particular end.

For an apparent **D** construction, cf. L. 1363. *I* shal *be* never *the better*. Van der Gaaf (§ 58) shows this to be an O.E. construction. Cf. also I 998 (p. 53 and note 1).

[3] *Convenable* should perhaps be classed among impersonals. Cf. Tr. II. 1137 and *acorden*, p. 120.

[4] See p. 130, note 3.

[5] Cf. Tr. V. 923. I *wol ben* he to serven yow myselve,
Ye, *levere* than *be* [Cl. = þe] lord of Greces twelve.

The two earliest cases of *willen* + *levere* (*-est*) noted by Van der Gaaf (of the four before 1600) are *lievest wolde*, Conf. Am. (1393), and Myr. of oure Ladye (c. 1430). (Van der Gaaf, § 51.)

B. Tr. V. 20. Men wyste never womman han the care,
Ne was so *loth* out of a town *to fare.*

C. Tr. III. 1339.

D. Tr. III. 154. that . . . *ben* so *loth to suffren.*

Lothest ben.

A. (to) Damours, 71.

B. F 1313.

D. (to) Tr. II. 237.

Possible, impossible ben.

X. E 955. Received be to-morwe as roially,
As it *possible* is in myn hous *to be*, E 1609.

A. (to) F 1549,[1] P.F. 471.

D. B 2213. damages that . . . *been possible to fallen.*[2]

Wo ben.

A. Tr. V. 69. *wo* was *hym to gon.*[3]

Worthy ben.

X. R.C. 7573. it were *worthy*
To putte the out of this bayly.

A. Lb. 317. it were *better worthy*, trewely,
A *worm to neghen* neer my flour than thou.[4]

[1] Cf. Accusative with Infinitive, pp. 147 ff.

[2] I do not enter into the question whether this **D** type is a cause, or a result, of the use of *possible* in the sense of *able*, and *vice versa.* For a **B** type cf. Conf. Am. V. 221:

And *what thing* is passible
To ben a god *is impossible.*

[3] For a mixed construction showing *wo* to be felt as an adjective, cf. L. 1985:

me is as wo
For him as ever I was for any man.

This example is also instructive as to the real feeling for *me. As, so,* could not be attached to *wo* till it was felt to be an adjective; and it could not be felt as an adjective till it ceased to be felt as the subject of the sentence.

[4] So far as form is concerned, this example could be taken as a personal use of *worthy, worm* being subject (inverted by *it*): "a worm is better worthy." *Than thou* seems to corroborate this, though the nominative with infinitive is also possible. For the inversion of the sentence, cf. R.C. 6005:

it suffiseth me
Her goode *herte* and her *beaute.*

But the sense of *worthy* = "be fitting" is proved by H.F. III. 577:

ye shal han better loos
. . . . .
Than *worthy is,*

and by R.C. 7573, quoted above.

Worth ben.

X. B 2705. It is moore *worth to be* pacient than for to be right strong.

A 785. Us thought it was noght *worth to make* it wys

CHAPTER XIV.

THE INFINITIVE AS PREDICATE.

OLD ENGLISH.

The prepositional infinitive of purpose denoting *necessity, obligation, futurity*, etc., is frequent in O.E. Cf. Wülfing, pp. 211 ff.

Be. 482, 36. ðeahtedon and ræddon hwæt him *to donne* wære (Wf. p. 211).

Be. 489, 41. forþon ne syndon *to lufianne* ða wisan fore stowum, ac for godum wisum stowe syndon *to lufianne* (Wf. p. 212).

Old French (cf. Sörgel, pp. 258 ff.).

Raoul, 5793. Car je ne sai q'il m'est *a encontrer* (S. p. 258).

Theb. 5743. Si com l'aventure ert *a estre* (S. p. 258).

Chaucer.

(A) The infinitive retains something of its original purpose force.

1. Its purpose force is similar to that found after certain nouns (cf. Chapter III.). In the case of nouns the infinitive denoted the purpose or function of the noun by direct dependence on it. Here it is the same relation, but is asserted, by means of a copulative verb. The cases in which the noun is logical subject of the infinitive, or denotes means, are relatively much fewer than those in which the noun is logical object of the infinitive.

B 4226. A dong carte, as it were *to donge* lond.

D 397. my walkynge out . . .
Was *for tespye* wenches.

D 122, I 610,[1] Bo. IV. p. 4, 162.

[1] E omits *is*.

2. The idea of purpose easily passes into that of future time.

Bo. V. p. 3, 34. thing nis nat *to comen.*[1]

I 224, 1063, Tr. IV. 997, 1013, 1047, 1066, 1067, Ast. II. 11, 11, Bl. 708, H.F. I. 45, Bo. I. p. 4, 188, II. p. 1, 92, V. p. 4, 66.

3. As predicate after noun subjects like *entente, conseil,* etc., the infinitive is used in a manner similar to that where it depends directly on the nouns. It is often a difficult matter to say whether the infinitive is subject or predicate in cases of this kind. Both *to* and *for to* are used without distinction of meaning

Assent. L. 1547 (MS. Camb. Gg.).

Besynesse. Venus, 20.

Cause. I 940; (for) B 2591, 4479.

Conseil. Tr. V. 430.

Cure. Bo. II. p. 4, 50.

Desiryng. R.A. 725.

Disport. Tr. IV. 309.

Entencioun. Tr. I. 683.

Entente. B 40, D 1389, G 998, I 1018, Tr. I. 738, II. 1219, La. 85, Damours, 82, R.C. 6837; (for) A 1000, Tr. II. 1293.

Kynde. An. 201.

Lust. (for) B 188.

Nature. (for) C.M. 94.

Plesaunce. Damours, 10.

Purpos. Tr. I. 1, Pt. 5; (for) A 3981.

Thought. R.A. 582, R.B. 2135.

Vois. Tr. IV. 195.

Wille. (for) R.B. 2989.

Wone. (for) H.F. I. 76.

4. Phrases meaning *blameworthy, to blame,* and *praiseworthy.*

To blame. B 2452, etc.; (for) Tr. II. 287.

To wyte. D 806, Tr. I. 825, II. 1279, III. 63; (for) Tr. II. 385.[2]

To preysen. C 42, R.A. 70, B 2706, R.A. 887, R.B. 2385, 4475, 5554; (for) I 462.

To reproven. B 2222; (for) R.C. 7548.[3]

5. The frequent formula, *This is to seyn,* etc., meaning *this is to be explained,* etc.

[1] Chaucer in the Boece translates *futurum est, quid est eventurum, futurus,* all by *to comen.* The form *to cominge* is sometimes found; e.g. Bo. II. p. 7, 104.

[2] Cl. reads *to.* [3] MS. *to.*

To seyn. B 1713. this Latyn was *to seye* (and like phrases), B 3163, G 87, 92, 106, I 285, etc.; (for) B 3944, I 288,[1] I 1039.

This is to seyn. D 127, etc.

What this is to seyn. Tr. III. 74, 1003, etc.; (for) A 3605.

To menen. B 3941, Tr. II. 171.

To understonden. I 1006; (for) I 758.

6. Corresponding to the original sense of the gerundial infinitive, the ideas of *obligation, fitness, necessity, possibility, etc.*, are expressed.

To biholden. Bl. 405.

To consideren. Bo. III. p. 3, 58.

To demen. Bo. IV. p. 2, 148.

To ben desired. Bo. II. p. 1, 101, II. p. 6, 136.

To desiren. Bo. IV. p. 2, 178.

To despysen. Bo. I. p. 3, 76.

To done. D 2194, etc.; (for) Tr. V. 903, I 63.

To douten. Bo. III. p. 12, 28, V. p. 1, 22.

To dreden. G 437, Tr. I. 84; (for) Bo. II. p. 1, 100.

For to fetten. Tr. III. 609.

To fleen. Bo. V. p. 2, 16, 20.

To holden stille. R.B. 2204.

To leren. Tr. V. 161.

To leven. Tr. III. 308.

To liken. Tr. III. 1363.[2]

To loken (= to be seen). Tr. II. 629.[3]

For to loven. R.A. 1091.

To ben noumbred. Bo. IV. p. 2, 259.

For to proven. H.F. III. 257.

To requeren. Bo. III. p. 10, 245.

To selle. C 564; (for) D 414.

To seken. G 874.

For to sen. E 1020, 1465.[4]

To seyn. Bo. III. p. 1, 29, Tr. IV. 1171.[5]

To speken of. An. 294.

To tellen. G 656; (for) F 447.

To trowen. R.B. 4531.

To wenen. Bo. III. p. 2, 116.

For to witen (= to know). Bo. III. p. 10, 173.

To ben wondred upon. Bo. III. p. 8, 36.

To yernen. Tr. IV. 198.

[1] In I 288, Nazarenus is as muche *for to seye* as florisshynge, *muche* may be predicate with *for to seye* depending on it, or the infinitive may be predicate and *muche* object of it.

[2] Cf. p. 124, note 3.

[3] For *loken* transitive, cf. Bo. III. p. 12, 89, 91; II. p. 5, 9; C 578. In Tr. II. 629 *to loken* may be taken as a conditional infinitive, = "if one were to look at Mars."

[4] E 1020. That in so poure array was *for to see.*

E 1465. Myn herte and alle my lymes been as *grene*
As laurer thurgh the yeer is *for to sene.*

These two cases are ambiguous. They may mean, "was to be seen in poor array," "as laurel is to be seen"; or "array so poor to see," "as green to look at as laurel."

[5] Not the formula on p. 134, 5.

7. As in the construction of the infinitive after nouns and adjectives the dependent infinitive interchanges with the subject infinitive (pp. 49 ff.), so with the predicate infinitive denoting purpose, obligation, etc., a construction appears in M.E. in which the subject of the sentence comes to be used as the object of the infinitive. *A thing is to do* appears, often with the assistance of the expletive *it*, in the form *it is to do a thing*, meaning *it is necessary to do a thing*, in the same way that the Greek ἔξεστι is used to denote necessity. The examples of this construction are not numerous in Chaucer. He appears to have retained the other form in most cases.

(*a*) Examples of the unambiguous form of the construction *it is to do* (= to be done).

B 4253. dremes *been to drede.*

Bo. II. p. 1, 99. the manaces of Fortune ne *ben* nat *for to dreden.*

(*b*) Ambiguous cases, in which the noun may be subject of the sentence with infinitive predicate, or object of the infinitive.

B 4299. Many a *dreem* ful soore is *for to drede.*

Tr. V. 1666. Hys *lady* nas no lengere on *to tryste.*

Tr. II. 470. the *lesse* is *for to chese.*

(*c*) The noun is replaced by a phrase not suitable for a subject, or another object of the infinitive is expressed, so that the subject of the sentence cannot be thought of as logical object of the infinitive.

Tr. II. 1289. But *theron* was *to heven* and *to done.*

Tr. II. 434. Might he yet lyve, *of me* is *nought to recche.*[1]

Tr. IV. 1447. But *of my deth* though *litel be to recche.*[1]

R.B. 3482. It was [nat][2] *for to come ther tille.*
(Mes ce me torne a grant contraire.)

Bl. 690. hit is *to deye* sone.

Bo. V. p. 1, 29. it is nat *to douten of the thinges* folwinge.

H.F. III. 14. that is *for to menen this.*[3]

[1] If *nought* is not adverbial here, this may be read, "nothing is to be cared about me." So with the next example. Ambiguities of this kind, of course, helped to bring about the change in construction. Cf. An. 294. joye that is *to speke of oght.*

[2] Liddell's reading (Globe Ed.). Skeat reads *hard;* MS. omits.

[3] This construction is frequent in Palladius:
I. 655. And monthes vi hit is *to fede hem* so (pascendi sunt).
I. 271. The *stonys* on thy lond *is for to drede* ffor they beth. . .
II. 58. hit is *to wede hem* blyve, I. 1072, 1074.
Gower has the construction:
Conf. Am. Pr. 175. It is *to wondre of thilke werre.*
Pr. 500. It is *to drede of that fortune.*
V. 3531. Of hem is noght *to taken hiede,* Pr. 338.

(B) The infinitive is without purpose force, having become wholly substantivized, and is used as an ordinary noun in the predicate.

H 332. The firste vertu . . .
Is *to restreyne* and *kepe* wel thy tonge.
I 84, 466, 496, 810, Tr. III. 294, etc.;[1] (for) I 307, 810, 959, L. 1299, etc.
With *acc. c. inf.*:
B 2529. that is, a lord *to be biloved* of hise citizeins.
I 469, 666, Tr. III. 1626.[1]

CHAPTER XV.

NOMINATIVE WITH INFINITIVE.

A FEW cases in Chaucer show the nominative with the infinitive. Several examples that seem to be similar are here put together.[2]

Aelfric has the construction:
Pref. to Pent. I. 21, 14. Nys us na *to secgenne þone* sceamlican morð þe þær gedon wæs. Also S.L. XVII. 181. us is *to secenne þa bote*.
He also has the other construction:
S.L. XII. 131. *Se trywleasa* ne bið nanum hlaforde *to hæbenne*.
The construction is also found in Alfred:
Be. 495, 19. *fram ingange* ðære halgan stowe is *to ahabbanne* (Wf. p. 212).
For a similar development of this construction in other Indo-European languages, see Delbrück, III. pp. 28, 29.

[1] For cases like this and Tr. II. 784, Oure wreche is this . . . *to drynke*, where the infinitive is in apposition with the predicate, see below, pp. 143 ff.

[2] The above was in type before I saw Dr. Jacob Zeitlin's *The Accusative with Infinitive and some Kindred Constructions in English* (New York, 1908), in which he devotes pp. 141 ff. to a discussion of the nominative with the infinitive. Space forbids adequate discussion of his conclusions, but it seems to me he gives too little weight to several considerations. First, the isolated Old English example cited (after Wülfing and Shearin) on p. 146, is of very doubtful relevancy: hie heora here on tu todældon; *oþer* æt ham *beon* heora lond to healdanne, *oþer ut faran* to winnanne. *Oþer* is probably not nominative, but accusative, being neuter like its antecedent *tu*. The infinitives *beon* and *faran* need denote only ordinary purpose after *todældon*, having logical subjects coinciding with *tu* (on the principle illustrated in Chap. II. 3, 4, p. 15), but also repeated by the appositives *oþer-oþer* on account of the distributive sense.
Again, in most of the M.E. examples cited, it cannot be decided whether the

E 103. I dar the bettre aske of yow a space
Of audience to shewen oure requeste,
And *ye*, my lord, *to doon* right as yow leste.

E 351. I seye this, be ye redy with good herte
To al my lust, and that I frely may,
As me best thynketh, do yow laughe or smerte,
And nevere *ye to grucche* it . . . ?

Tr. III. 131–147.
And thanne *agreen* that I may ben he,
. . . . . .
In trowthe alwey to don yow my servyse,
. . . . . .
And *I to han* right as yow lyst comfort,
. . . . . .

---

infinitive subject is nominative, or uninflected dative or accusative: and in English Wills, where the construction is frequent, when the inflected pronoun is used, the dative-accusative occurs very frequently along with the nominative. This suggests that one source of the nominative with infinitive is to be found in the isolation from its governing verb of an accusative with infinitive which has changed by loss of inflection into a nominative, as in the change from the impersonal to the personal construction.

In the third place, Dr. Zeitlin gives too little importance to another very probable source of the construction, viz., the infinitive depending directly on a noun (in any case) as an adjective modifier, as in Tr. III. 131 (quoted above); together with the related construction of the predicate infinitive. Though it is doubtless true that the construction with omitted copulative verb became so stereotyped that no need of a copula was felt, still both forms are interchangeable (cf. the example quoted from Dugdale, p. 139, below). The copula is especially likely to be omitted when it would be reduced to the absolute form *being*. It is significant that the syntactical categories Dr. Zeitlin names for the nominative with infinitive,—purpose, futurity, obligation, etc.,—exactly correspond with those I had recorded for the predicate infinitive. His example from Massinger (p. 156) aptly illustrates the omission of the copula:

> Consider he's the prince, and you his subjects,
> And *not to question or contend* with her
> Whom he is pleased to honour.

Here the copula is clearly omitted in *and you* [*are*] *his subjects*, and if supplied with the infinitive gives perfectly natural sense.

The last set of examples (on pp. 154 ff.), of the infinitive of direct command in the second person, is perhaps least convincing. Grein is doubtless right in regarding the two Old English examples as subjunctives. The M.E. cases of supposed simple infinitives may also be explained as subjunctives. In O.E. Misc. 135, 592 ff. it is possible to explain *þu froueren*, *þu coueren*, and *þu rigtin* as examples of nunnation (cf. the rime-word *migtin*). The prepositional infinitives may depend on other elements of the sentence in each case: in O.E. Misc. 45, 269 f., on *nym gome;* in Piers Plowman, B-text, v. 614 ff. *to suffre and segge* may depend on *as þow a childe were;* in Handlynge Synne (Emerson, *Mid. Eng. Reader*, p. 94, 19 ff.) *to selle* denotes purpose after *take;* line 14 shows this: My body I *take* þe here *to selle*. Though it may be true that the infinitive in its normal use may often be equivalent in general sense to what might be expressed by an imperative, that is a very different thing from saying that the infinitive as an imperative was a productive category in M.E.

And *I to ben* yowre verray humble trewe,
Secret, and yn myn paynes pacient,
And evere mo *desire* fresshly newe,
To serven, and ben y-lyke diligent,
And with good herte, al holly yowre talent
Receyven wel, how sore that me smerte;
Lo *this, mene I*, myn owene swete herte.[1]
Tr. I. 466. arguments to this *conclusioun*,
That she on hym wolde han compassioun
And *he to be* here man.

Two constructions, often combined and assisting each other, are to be considered here: the predicate infinitive denoting purpose or obligation, and the infinitive with verbs expressing some kind of agreement or imposed obligation. It will be noted that the idiom occurs when there is some kind of agreement in question. Attention was called above (p. 133, 1) to the fact that the infinitive of purpose depending directly on a noun is only one form of a construction appearing in another form with a copulative verb. Compare the example above, Tr. III. 131, I may ben *he . . . to don*, where it means simply *the man to do*, etc. The step is very slight to *he is* the man *to do*, and then to the elliptical construction *he (is) to do, I (am) to do*. We feel the predicate construction still in the modern idiom as found in contracts, agreements, etc., especially in plans and specifications; as, "the building *to stand* ten yards from the street, and *to be built* of red brick," etc. That this is really the predicate construction in N.E., is shown, for example, by the following: "they should have one Bedchamber in the church, whereunto *they were to repair* in Winter time . . .; in which lodging *to be two Beds*, wherein they *were to sleep*. . . ."[2]

The fact that this infinitive is found in connection with agreements or contracts, etc., is illustrated by English Wills, where this construction occurs in abundance; e.g. 48, 17. I ȝeve and bequeth to Marjorie my wyfe, *sche to dispose* for her children; so 22, 12; 2, 13; 88, 10; 88, 32; 105, 17, etc.

In connection with the predicate construction denoting obligation, there is also to be considered the possible ellipsis of some verb like

[1] In verse 136, Cl., Cp. and H. 2280 omit *I*, but Johns, H. 1239, and Cm. have it.

[2] Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, pp. 692-93 (quoted from *Mod. Philology*, Apr. 1906, p. 8).

agree, decree, will, etc. In the wills mentioned the infinitive is so found, sometimes with accusative, sometimes with nominative subject, where it may be in loose dependence on the verb *will, bequeath,* etc.; as 88, 10. y *will* the best prest . . . sey for me the saide trentall . . . and the *prest to have* x li. Likewise in the passage from Tr. III. 131 ff., the infinitives may be thought of as depending in a loose way on *agreen* (v. 131). On the other hand, those in vv. 141–146 may depend on *mene* in v. 147. In E 351 ff., likewise, the verb *swere* in 357 is probably of influence on the construction, and in Tr. I. 466 the word *conclusioun.*

In D 1219 ff., Chese now . . . one of thise thynges tweye :
To han me foul and old til that I deye,
And *be* to yow a trewe humble wyf,
And nevere yow *displese,*

the infinitives may simply depend on *chese,* the change of logical subject for the last two being easily implied from the clause, *til that I deye.* For similar change of subject, cf. D 911 f.

In G 313 ff., Men sholde hym brennen in a fyr so reed
If he were founde, or that men myghte hym spye,
And *we* also, *to bere* hym compaignye,

Skeat in his note explains *we* as anticipatory of *we* in v. 318. At any rate, it seems clear that *we* does not go with *to bere,* the latter simply depending on *y-brend . . . shul we be.*[1]

A 1132 ff. illustrates the construction in question, with a noun + infinitive in loose construction with the governing verb *sweren* :

Ysworn ful depe . . .
That nevere, for to dyen in the peyne,
Til that deeth departe shal us tweyne,
Neither of us in love *to hyndre* oother.[2]

[1] It is possible that *to bere* is here an infinitive of cause : "for having borne him company." I am indebted to a lecture note of Professor Neilson for this suggestion. It is perhaps corroborated by I 967. many a wrecche for to bere compaignye shal go to the devel of helle.

[2] For a similar anacoluthon—an infinitive following a conjunction *that*—cf. C 517 :

Allas, the shorte throte, the tendre mouth,
Maketh that Est and West and North and South,
In erthe, in eir, in water, *man to swynke*
To gete a glotoun deyntee mete and drynke.

Cf. H.F. III. 85. And maketh alle my wyt to swynke. The *that* + infinitive clause in A 1132 at least suggests the same construction in C 517 and throws doubt on the existence of the word *to-swinken* in Chaucer.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE INFINITIVE IN QUESTIONS.

THE infinitive is used in what appears like a kind of condensed indirect question.

Old English.

In O.E. the construction of certain interrogatives and indefinites with the prepositional infinitive probably had some influence in the development of constructions like "he knew not what to do."

(1) Compare the following so-called abbreviated interrogative clauses:

Sax. Chron. 891, p. 160. forþon þe hi woldon for Godes lufan on elþiodignesse beon, hi *ne rohton hwær* (Sohr. p. 29).

Thorpe, Hom. I. 184, 20. his discipuli woldon eac þæt folc fedan, ac hi næfdon *mid hwam* (Sohr. p. 30).

Such interrogative expressions would easily come to be felt as independent substantives; cf. M.E. and N.E. *wherwith, the wherewith.* The infinitive could then easily be attached as to any noun in the various relations shown on pp. 25 ff.

(2) Certain indefinite pronouns in O.E. are also to be considered, to which the infinitive was attached.

Or. 142, 24. þonne seo leo bringð his hungregum hwelpum *hwæt to etanne* (Wf. p. 216).

Bo. 18, 23. wast þu *aht* oþres bi þe selfum *to secganne* butan þæt þu nu sædest? (Wf. p. 210).

So. 188, 24. nat ic ðe *nanwiht to bebeodanne* þæs þe þe mare ðearf sie (Wf. p. 210).

The transition from the indefinite in *he bringð hwæt to etanne, he hæfð hwæt to etanne,* to the interrogative *he wat, he nat, hwæt to etanne,* would be very easy. In fact, there is no way of proving, in Modern English, that in "he knew what to do," *what* is not indefinite rather than interrogative at bottom, as in the idiom "I'll tell you what."

Old French.

The construction is common in O.F. For a discussion of its origin and use, cf. Sörgel, pp. 304 ff.

Tr. 1743. Ne te sai plus *que enseignier* (S. p. 306).
Alex. 36. Certes, dist il, ne sai *cui entercier* (S. p. 306).

Chaucer.

What to don(e).
B 2191, Tr. I. 356, III. 1253, R.B. 3047; (for) Tr. I. 886.
What to seye.
B 384, Tr. IV. 356, L. 2262, R.B. 1757, 3853.
To whom me pleyne.
C.L. 50, A 237; to pleyne, C.M. 214.
Deservedest wherfore to dyen, C 216.
How to done, etc.
Tr. IV. 934. So shappeth *how distourbe* this goynge; (to) Tr. I. 301, II. 836, IV. 158, R.C. 6928; (for) Tr. IV. 1256, V. 782.
In what manere wyse to shende, Tr. IV. 78.
Where to fynde, to pleyne, R.B. 4617, R.C. 6405.[1]

In addition to the two constructions in O.E. mentioned above as possible origins of this construction in Chaucer, another seems to have assisted; viz., the actual abbreviation of the predicate construction *what is to done*, etc. The following examples seem to show this:

Tr. II. 696. And *what to done* best *were*, and *what eschue.*
Bl. 688. For al my wil, my lust hoolly
Is turned; but yet, *what to done?*
By our lord, *hit is to deye* sone.
Cf. Pall. III. 1193. Go reste—or make is beste, or *what to done.*

[1] In Tr. I. 386, he thoughte
What for to speken and *what to holden inne*,
And *what to arten* hire to love he soughte,
the third *what* denotes either the subject or the means of *to arten*, a relation which, to a modern ear at least, suggests that *what* = *somewhat* rather than the interrogative.
Cf. Tr. II. 1021. we shal speke of the *som what*, . . .
. . . . . *to do* thyne eeres glowe.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE INFINITIVE IN APPOSITION.

As in the case of the infinitive with nouns and adjectives, and in that of the infinitive as predicate, the same relations may be expressed by the infinitive in apposition with some element of the sentence.

1. The infinitive is found in apposition with many nouns similar to those after which it is found as predicate and as a dependent modifier (pp. 35 ff., 134, 3).

Conclusioun. F 1263, A 3193.
Entente.[1] D 1452.
Favour. H.F. III. 698
Labour. H 150.
Lust. E 80.
Manere. Tr. IV. 284.
Office. Bo. III. p. 4, 94.
Purpos. E 314.
Remedye. Bo. IV. p. 6, 337.
Renoun. Bo. II. p. 7, 21.

2. The infinitive partakes of a purpose force, by being placed in apposition with the noun in a purpose phrase.

E 1296. Ne take no wyf . . . *for housbondrye*,
As *for to spare* in houshold thy dispence.
Cause why, for cause, Tr. III. 75; (for) H.F. III. 795.
To conclusioun. Ast. I. 19, 11.
For ,, Tr. I. 480.
For the fyn. Tr. III. 513 (Cp.).
For the recompensacioun. Bo. IV. p. 4, 300.
For thys ende. L. 2397.

3. Approaching more nearly the force of an ordinary noun, the infinitive may be placed in apposition with various elements of the sentence. In such cases it may partake of the construction of the element it stands for. Except in form, therefore, the appositive infinitive of this kind does not really belong to a separate category, but represents various constructions of the infinitive.

(*a*) Apposition with the subject.

Tr. I. 687. *bothe two* ben vices,
Mystrusten alle, or elles alle *leve*.

[1] With words like *entente*, *lust*, etc., the noun is not strictly identical with the infinitive action. But that this distinction was lost sight of, is shown by the predicate construction, as in Tr. II. 1293.

Bl. 587; (to) C 690, Tr. I. 608, III. 637, IV. 959, Bo. I. p. 3, 73, III. m. 9, 53, R.B. 2188, F 1337, I 1051, Tr. I. 697, II. 322, Bo. II. m. 8, 13 (with infinitive subject also), Bo. IV. p. 3, 59, V. p. 3, 213, L. 1181;[1] (for) B 1480, 1618, 2672, 2673, I 459, Tr. II. 1174, L. 2587.

(*b*) With a predicate verb.

Tr. II. 1024. thow nylt it digneliche *endite*,
As *make* it with thise argumentes tough.

Tr. V. 248, 251; (to) C 16, Adam, 5.[2]

(*c*) With an adjective or pronominal predicate.

(for) I 498, 799, 908, 984.

(*d*) With a phrasal predicate.

(to) I 103; (for) I 567, 796.

(*e*) With the object of a preposition.

(to) E 2439, G 744, Tr. IV. 1009; (for) Tr. III. 300.

Here may be placed E 586:

Upon peyne his heed of *for to swappe*.

(to) H.F. III. 480, R.C. 6617.

(*f*) With the object.

Bo. II. m. 2, 17;[3] (to) B 1689, G 542, H 152, I 596, 1019, Tr. IV. 68, 69,[4] C.L. 12, Lb. 82, Bo. IV. p. 2, 80; (for) B 516, I 105, Tr. IV. 1555, H.F. III. 14.

When the pronoun *it* is object of the verb with an infinitive in apposition, the *it* is often colourless, so that the infinitive essentially depends on the verb itself.

An. 162. Alas! what herte mighte enduren *hit*
. . . hir sorow *for to telle*.

R.C. 6600. useth *it* . . .
Go haunten (so MS.; Th. = *to*

(to) E 1560, Tr. II. 1551, IV. 1275, V. 1294, An. 259.

[1] In cases like this, In him lith alle, *to doo* me lyve or deyen, though the phrase is doubtless stereotyped, apparently *alle* is subject, with the infinitive in apposition. Cf. Lb. 449. *Al* lyeth in yow—dooth . . ., and A 1795. hir deth *lith* in my myght also.

[2] When the infinitive is in apposition with the predicate it may denote different syntactical relations. In Adam, 5 it may denote means, in C 16 it is epexegetical.

[3] *Gapyn* and *desiren* may here be indicative with omitted subject.

[4] Cf. Infinitive of comparison, p. 65, above.

4. The infinitive is joined in a kind of loose apposition to the rest of the sentence, having an epexegetical function.

H 73. he *speke wole of smale thynges,*
As *for to pynchen* at thy rekenynges.

R.A. 179. And litel coude of *norture,*
To worshippe any creature.
(Et fame qui petit seust
D'honorer ceus qu'ele deust.)

I 421. clothyng . . . ne suffisaunt *to beete* hire necessitee, *to kepe* hem fro the distemperance of the firmament.

Bl. 406. As thogh the erthe envye wolde
To be gayer than the heven,
To have mo floures swiche seven.

A 264. Somwhat he lipsed *for his wantownesse,*
To make his Englissh sweete.

C 421. Thus spitte I out my venym under hewe
Of hoolynesse, to semen hooly and trewe.

L. 2692. Myn handes ben nat *shapen for a knyfe,*
As *for to reve* no man fro his lyfe.

R.B. 1996. I wole that thou *obaye*
Fully for thyn avauntage,
Anoon *to do* me heere homage.

H.F. III. 1024. Yaf hem eke *duracioun,*
Somme *to wexe* and *wane* sone.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE INFINITIVE AFTER *BUT* AND *ABOUTE.*

THE infinitive is used after *but* in several ways.

1. As a kind of apposition, it is used after *but* where it may be regarded as in construction with some other element of the sentence.

(*a*) In construction with an auxiliary verb.

C.L. 41. I *can but love* hir best.

Tr. IV. 311. What *shal* ye don, *but* for my discomfort
Stonden for nought, and *wepen* out.[1]

[1] So Cp. H. Cl. = stondeth. See 2, 3, pp. 146 ff.

Tr. I. 512. What *wole* every lover seyn . . . *but* . . .
Laughen yn skorn and *seyn*, Tr. II. 782.

(*b*) Denoting purpose.

Lb. 180. *tabide*
For nothing ellis . . .
But for to loke.

Tr. IV. 1290. these wordes, . . .
Nys but to shewe yow my mocioun.

(*c*) Complement of verb or phrase.

R.B. 4937. And of nought elles *taketh hede*
But oonly folkes *forto lede.*

B 2321. *deme*, ne *thynke*, *but* oonly *to fulfille* the ende of his coveitise, R.C. 7523.

(*d*) Complement of noun.

C 403. myn entente is nat *but for to wynne.*

(*e*) Subject.

B 337. *What* sholde us tyden . . .
But thraldom . . .
And . . . in helle *to be drawe.*

(*f*) Predicate.

Bo. V. p. 3, 97. for to wenen that, . . . *what* oother thing is it *but for to wene* that . . .

(*g*) Object.

C.L. 42. Love hath *taught* no *more* of his art
But serve alwey and *stinte* for no wo.

2. It is difficult in many cases—except on artificial grammatical grounds—to say whether *but* is felt as prepositional or as adverbial. Compare the following examples in order:

B 2648. noon oothor *remedie but for to have* youre recours unto the sovereyn juge. So. Tr. V. 328, 1210.

Ast. II. 31, 11. Thanne is ther no *more but waite.*

R.C. 6284. is ther *nought but yelde.*

R.B. 4583. is ther *not but serve* hym.

La. 487. ne *don nat but asayen.*

Tr. V. 1615. ne *don but holden* me in honde.

The confusion of prepositional and adverbial (conjunctive) force is shown also by the use of the finite verb.

B 2121. Thou doost *noght elles but despendest* tyme.

A 2664. *what dooth* this queene of love,
But wepeth so.
H.F. III. 546. *What did* this Eolus, *but he*
Toke out hys blake trumpe.

Occasionally the form is ambiguous:

E 2205. Ye han noon oother contenance, I leeve,
But speke to us of untrust and repreeve.
Tr. IV. 279. that may of no thinge serve,
But evere *dye* and nevere fully *sterve*.

The preposition *aboute* may be regarded as governing an infinitive in the same way that it governs a noun, and it may denote purpose, complement, or a future idea.

D 166. I was *aboute to wedde* a wyf.
I 643, Tr. II. 1471, H.F. II. 89 (ther-aboute), H.F. III. 240; (for) Tr. II. 1468.
For *go aboute* + infinitive, cf. p. 8, above.

APPENDIX I.

ACCUSATIVE WITH INFINITIVE.

MANY examples in Chaucer resemble the Accusative with Infinitive construction. Whether the accusative in question (if it was accusative) was more distinctly felt as connected with the infinitive than with the governing word or phrase, it is probably impossible now to say. But any complete discussion of the matter (which I do not attempt)[1] would need to include a

[1] For a full discussion of the subject, see Dr. Zeitlin's monograph (v. bibliography). The examples of the accusative with infinitive after transitive verbs are treated under the Object Infinitive, Chap. XI.

consideration of the **B** type of the impersonal construction alongside of the **A** and **C** types. In the process of change from the impersonal construction to the personal, the dative or accusative became nominative. If the dative was an inflected pronoun, the change of case was accompanied by change of form. But in the case of nouns, after their loss of inflection, ambiguity of form led to the **B** type; as, B 2254. al that hir *housbonde* liked *for to seye*. The use of *it*, however, was very common with such impersonal constructions, and here the introduction of *it* removes the ambiguity by making certain that the infinitive, not the noun, is subject of *liked*. *It liked* hir *housbonde to seye* remains **A** type, and *housbonde* can be considered object (direct or indirect) of *liked*. But in the case of impersonal adjective and noun expressions, when *it* is employed, as in B 1222, As *it* is *possible any freend to be*, while *freend* was still felt as a dative, it could go with *possible*, but when it ceased to be distinguished in form from an accusative, since an accusative could not go with *possible* as could a dative, it must either be supplied with a preposition, *to*, *for*, etc., or must become detached from *possible*.

Whether in point of fact other influences, as that of the Latin construction, entered into the Accusative with Infinitive construction in M.E., I have not material to prove; but the present explanation is sufficient to account for the following cases.[1]

[1] It is to be noted that in modern English there is at least one construction which developed in the way suggested, both the earlier and later forms existing side by side. Compare "What is better for a man than to travel?" with "What is more usual than for men to travel?" If I understand Dr. Zeitlin, he explains the use of the so-called inorganic *for*, as in the second illustration, as an original nominative with the infinitive after certain neuter verbs in connection with adjective and noun predicates. This construction is explained as having taken on the form of a construction with organic *for* + a dative containing the logical subject of the infinitive after neuter and impersonal verbs, without having been

For the sake of comparison, I record some cases in which the C type is shown.

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affected by the syntax of the imitated construction (p. 138). Such a process appears to me very doubtful. It assumes unnecessarily and without proof the sudden origin of the full-fledged nominative with infinitive. But, though this was "a distinct acquisition for the language" (p. 119), it was in a form which "was not long tolerated" (p. 137).

I can only suggest here, that both the constructions, *No wonder is a leced man to ruste*, and *hit is no maystrie for a lord To dampne a man*, seem to me adequately accounted for as outgrowths of the construction of an adjective or noun followed by a dative containing the logical subject of the infinitive, as in *god is us her to beonne*. Dr. Zeitlin's statement (p. 116) maintaining "the undoubted priority of the dative construction" (rather than the accusative, in *us*) appears to remove the main difficulty from Stoffel's argument referred to: there is no need to assume any accusative. Just as the logical subject of the infinitive was implied in the dative, so it was later implied in the prepositional phrase substituted for the dative. That the later uninflected dative belongs essentially to the same kind of construction as that containing a prepositional phrase, seems clear from the fact that they are interchangeable. Zeitlin's example from Chaucer (B 2675) shows this: It is a greet *worshipe a man to kepen* hym fro noyse and stryf. Here MS. E (Skeat records no variants) reads *to a man* (= *homini*, and *à homme*: note that in both cases the datives go with the nouns *honor* and *honneur*, and a new subject is expressed for the clause represented in Chaucer by *to kepen*). This sentence is paralleled by *it is a woodnesse* a man to stryve. Here it is *madness*, not simply in general, but *for the man*, in the same way as when *to* is expressed. Dr. Zeitlin's examples on p. 133 show the same thing. He admits this interchange for one form of the construction,—that in which the dative or prepositional phrase depends directly on the noun or adjective. I maintain that there is a gradual transition from constructions in which *for* is thus organic, to those in which either an uninflected dative or a prepositional phrase do not so depend. An example from Chaucer (La. 525) is instructive:

> a ful gret *negligence*
> Was hit *to thee*, to write unstedfastnesse
> Of women.

Here Lb. 537 reads:

> a ful gret *negligence*
> Was hit *to thee*, that ilke tyme *thou made*
> "Hyd, Absolon, thy tresses."

Here it is clear that *to thee* does not in the usual sense depend on *negligence*: it was a negligence *to Alceste* in one text, and *to women in general* in the other. But there is *combined* with this general sense a meaning which connects the logical subject of *to write* with the noun *negligence*: it was a *negligence on your part*. That *to thee* is not wholly inorganic and imitated from the organic construction with infinitive, is also shown by the fact that there is no infinitive in the B-text.

There is a similar state of things in present-day English. *It is a good thing for Americans to travel*, may contain either or both of the ideas that it is good for the Americans or for some one else. Whenever there is a large area of ambiguity between two different constructions similar in form, that is the natural element for one of the constructions to have developed from the other, no matter how distinct the extreme cases may be. In other words, the so-called inorganic *for* appears to me once to have been, and often still to be, in varying degree, *organic for*; and it seems unnecessary to explain it as added to the construction of the nominative with infinitive, in order to bring the latter into formal similarity with that of organic *for*, with which it admittedly never had any connection.

1. With verb.

Tr. II. 1368. It is oon of the thynges *furthereth* most
A *man to have* a leyser.

Here *man* might originally have been object of *furthereth*.

B 2828. *bettre it is* and moore it *availleth* a *man to have* a good name than *for to have* grete richesses.

Bo. IV. p. 3, 53. thilke *folk* . . . it *acordeth* and is *convenable to ben* goddes.

Tr. I. 12. wel *sit* it, the sothe for to seyne,
A woful *wight to han* a drery fere.

Tr. I. 142. *falleth* nought to purpos *me to telle*.

R.C. 6950. Or that *hym list*, or that *hym deyned*
A *man* thurgh hym *avaunced be*.

Here *be* can be subjunctive.

2. With adjective.

(*a*) **C** type.

D 37. it were *leveful unto me*
To be refresshed.

Tr. IV. 904, 905, Tr. V. 1070, L. 603, H.F. I 252. over *longe for yow to dwelle*, Bo. I. p. 3, 18, I. p. 4, 181, II. p. 2, 41, IV. p. 4, 10, IV. p. 4, 295, IV. p. 6, 390, Ast. Pr. 27, R.B. 4675.

(*b*) **A** type or *acc. c. inf.*

A 1523. It is ful *fair* a *man to bere* hym evene.

A 2288. But it is *good* a *man been* at his large.

B 1030. as lyke unto Custance
As *possible* is a *creature to be*, I 708.

Tr. III. 148. an hard requeste
And *resonable* a *lady for to werne*.

Lb. 317. Yt were better *worthy* trewely
A *worme to neghen* ner.

R.B. 3787. Now is it *right me to procede*.

(*c*) *Acc. c. inf.*

A 4318. Lo! *swich* it is a *millere to be* fals.

B 2294. it is nat *good to been* a *man* alloone.

B 2775. no thyng . . . is so muchel *agayns nature* as a *man to encressen* . . .

B 2973. ther nys no thyng so *good* . . . as a *thyng to been* unbounde.[1]

3. With noun.

(*a*) **C** type.

B 2675. It is a greet *worshipe to a man to kepen* hym.

B 2712. it was greet *peril to myne enemys to do* me a vileynye.

B 2794, C 739, Tr. I. 368, V. 408.

Lb. 400. yt is no *maistrye for a lorde*
To dampne a man.

La. 525, Bo. V. p. 4, 131.

(*b*) **A** type *acc. c. inf.*[2]

B 2671. it is a *woodnesse* a *man to stryve.*

I 456, 470, 935.

I 849. if it be a *foul thyng* a *man to waste* his catel.

Tr. II. 164. I holde it gret *deynte*
A *Kynges sone* yn armes wel *to do.*

Tr. III. 630. Now were a *tyme* a *lady to go* henne.

L. 1975. A *kynges sone to be* in swiche prisoun
And *be devoured*, thoughte hem grete *pitee.*

Bo. III. p. 6, 20. yif it seme a *fair thing* a *man to han encresed* and *spred* his name.

(*c*) *Acc. c. inf.*

A 502. No *wonder* is a *lewed man to ruste.*

4. In apposition or in the predicate.

B 2530. that is, *a lord to be biloved* of his citezeins.

I 469, I 666, Tr. I. 891, Tr. III. 1626, Lb. 382.[3]

[1] F 279 is ambiguous: That is nat *able* a dul *man to devyse.* Here *able* may be equivalent to the modern *possible*, and the example be an **A** type *acc. c. inf.*; or *able* may have its usual sense, and *man* be the subject of the sentence with the infinitive dependent on *able.*

[2] In most of the cases under 3 (*b*) it is likely that the personal noun is really the subject of the infinitive. The probability of a dative relation to the predicate noun seems less than that to a predicate adjective, as in 2 (*b*); but still it is possible. In the example under 3 (*c*), not the form, but the sense, precludes the dative relation: the *wonder* is not to be referred to *lewed man*, but to the observer.

[3] Other cases of constructions like the *acc. c. inf.* are recorded to illustrate various other categories. References to the present category are made in connection with most of these.

APPENDIX II.

ORATIO OBLIQUA.

1. The following examples show the infinitive in a construction that corresponds to *oratio obliqua*, after verbs denoting expression of thought.

(*a*) With accusative subject of infinitive (or object of governing verb).

A 925. Thanked be Fortune . . .
That *noon estat assureth to be* wel.

Bo. III. p. 12, 77. he *which that* we *han acorded to be* good (quem bonum esse consensimus).

Bo. I. m. 1, 34. whereto *avauntede* ye *me to ben* weleful (Quid me felicem totiens jactastis).

Bo. III. p. 12, 115. him *that* we *han graunted to ben* almighty (eum quem . . . potentissimum esse concessimus).

(*b*) With passive verb.

H.F. I. 355. That I ne shal *be seyd*, allas,
Y-shamed be through Eneas.

Bo. II. p. 7, 170. (cujus ea [gloria] esse dicitur.)

Bo. V. p. 6, 49. (id aeternum esse jure perhibetur.)

Bo. I. p. 4, 192. (libertatem arguor sperasse romanam.)

2. A construction resembling *oratio obliqua* is found with verbs of *thinking*, *judging*, and the like. In Chapter X, pp. 88 ff., under Complementary Infinitive, were recorded verbs like *thenken*, *supposen*, *wenen*, etc., with the infinitive having the same logical subject. In those cases the infinitive may represent action (1) subsequent to, (2) coincident with, or (3) previous to, that of the governing verb; e.g. (1) B 2378. he *deemeth to have* victorie; (2) E 2408. a man *weneth to seen* a thyng, And it is al another than it semeth; (3) L. 1048. Which that he *wende han loren* in the see. When we have a

similar construction with subject of verb and infinitive different, the syntax approaches that of *oratio obliqua.*

(1) The infinitive action is coincident in time with the governing verb.[1]

Bo. V. p. 2, 18. thing that any wight *demeth to ben desired.*

D 1959. *Holde* ye thanne *me*, or elles oure *covent*,
To praye for yow *been* insufficient?

D 946. *For to been holden* stable and eke secree,
And in o purpos stedefastly *to dwelle*,
And nat *biwreye* thyng that men us telle.

Bo. IV. p. 4, 14. (licere creditur.)

B 3938. Which that he *knew* in heigh science *habounde.*

Bo. V. p. 6, 206. Thilke thing thanne that any wight hath *y-knowe to be*, it ne may ben non other weyes thanne he *knoweth* it *to be.*[2]

G 573, Ast. I. 14, 9, I. 21, 42, II. 40, 3, Bo. III. p. 10, 99, IV. p. 6, 204, 252, V. p. 3, 112, 130.

(2) The infinitive action is subsequent to that of the governing verb.

Bo. V. p. 6, 176. god *knoweth* anything *to be* (extaturum quid esse cognoscit).

Bo. V. p. 6, 182. (quod eventurum deus videt.)

Tr. IV. 961. for-sight of dyvyn purveyaunce
Hath seyn alwey me *to forgon* Criseyde.

Tr. IV. 977, Bo. V. p. 3, 13, V. p. 4, 91 (futura esse praenoscit), V. p. 3, 160, V. p. 5, 94.

APPENDIX III.

DON AUXILIARY.

I FIND the following cases of *don* as auxiliary with the infinitive in Chaucer, outside of the B-section of the Romaunt of the Rose:

[1] I find no cases in Chaucer where verb and infinitive subjects are different, and the time of the infinitive is previous to the governing verb, though they are not inconceivable.

[2] The point of the passage lies in the infinitive's being contemporaneous with the verb.

B 3622. Fader, why *do* ye *wepe?*

B 3624. Is ther no morsel breed that ye *do kepe?*

D 853. *Do*, dame, *telle* forth your tale.

This is not quite certain, as both verbs may be imperative. Cf. MS. C, *doth . . . tellyth.*

Bl. 753. "Yis, sir." "Swere thy trouthe ther-to."
"Gladly." "*Do* than *holde* her-to."
"I shal right blythly, so god me save,
Hoolly, with al the witte I have,
Here yow, as wel as I can."

Here also we may have the imperative in both cases. There is still another possibility. Mätzner (*Wb.* s.v. *holde*) cites *holde* as a noun in the sense of *ergebenheit, treue*, from Alisaunder, 2911. Alle heo *duden* him *feute*, And *swore* heom *holde* and *lewte*. The combination of *sweren* and *don* with the words *trouthe, feute, holde*, and *lewte* is suggestive that in Chaucer we have the same idiom as in Alisaunder. Moreover, I think this makes better sense than Skeat's interpretation (Glossary, s.v. *holde*, vb.), "keep to it then." In my interpretation the "knight" does not say, "Swear troth to it . . . Now, keep what you have sworn!" He says rather, "Swear troth to it."—"Gladly."—"Add still another oath to this one!" Observe, too, that this is exactly what the listener does. This meaning of *holde* is not separately recognised in *N.E.D.*, but cf. s.v. *hold*, noun, quotation from 1526, "hold or surety."

H.F. II. 528, tempest *doth* the shippes *swalowe*, seems at first to be a clear case. There is still here the possibility that we have a weakened causative: "tempest causes to swallow the shippes." So with B 3624 above.

Tr. IV. 880, But how this cas *doth* Troylus *moleste* (: unreste), at first sight looks like an auxiliary *don*. Skeat cites *moleste* as verb here. Bo. III. p. 9, 105 has *molestie* (noun) in Caxton, whom Skeat here follows. But MSS. Camb. I. i. 3. 21 and Addit. 10340 both have *moleste*. This is good evidence for a noun *moleste* as by-form of *molestie*. Cf. K. Alisaunder, 5811. And of the wederes stronge, and tempestes, That hem *duden grete molestes* (*N.E.D.*).[1]

The auxiliary *don* is frequent in the B-section of the Rose.

R.B. 1912. sich sorwe *dide I fele.*

R.B. 2797. ony lover *doth compleyne* (plaint et sospire).

[1] Professor Liddell reminds me of the O.F. *faire moleste* (*v.* Godefroy).

R.B. 3107. five woundes *dide* he *make.*
(Il m'a ou cuer cinq plaies faites.)
R.B. 4530. which now *doth me* soore *greve.*
R.B. 4599. So sore he *doth me greve.*[1]
(qui si fort me grieve.)
R.B. 1803, 2287, 2446, 2697, 4361, 4372, 4917, 4932, 5152, 5156, 5315, 5329.[2] [3]

Dietze (*Das umschreibende* Do *in der Neuenglischen Prosa*) does not attempt to explain the origin of the auxiliary use of *do*, but is inclined to agree with Mätzner in suggesting its origin in "stellvertretendes" *don*,—by the pleonastic repetition, in the infinitive, of an action already repeated by the use of *don*, as in "He went, and so did I (go)." He also takes the ground that it could not have arisen from the causative use of *don*.

The question of origin is an open one and a large one. Among other things that need investigation concerning it, the period of the spread of the auxiliary *don* must be determined for the different dialects. The use of it in the (supposedly Northern) B-section of the Rose and almost nowhere in Chaucer's certain works is suggestive here. It is not likely that the cause of the spread of this construction is to be sought in any single source. It may be that the "stellvertretendes" *don* has something to do with it. I have not seen it noticed that in the single case found in Alfred's works, Boet. VI. 17, Swa *doð* nu ðа þeostro þinre gedrefednesse *wiðstandan* minum leohtum larum, we really have a case of the kind. Three comparisons taken from nature just precede. Then follows *swa doð*, etc. But this is a rare and isolated case to base a conclusion on. If this kind of construction were really the source of the auxiliary use, we should expect to find in M.E. many cases of the "stellvertretendes" *don* actually followed by an infinitive. But, though the "stellvertretendes" *don* is very frequent without the infinitive, with the infinitive it is very rare. Wandschneider (pp. 12 f.) notes three cases from Langland, which, like

[1] R.B. 4599, in the light of the French original (qui si fort *me grieve*) seems to show that also in 4530 we are to take *greve* as transitive. In itself, however, there is nothing to prevent us from interpreting 4530 as, "causes me sorely to grieve."

[2] Lounsbury, *Chaucer Studies*, Vol. II., pp. 72 ff. (1892), called attention to the frequency of this construction in the Rose. Kaluza, *Chaucer und der Rosenroman*, pp. 40 ff. (1893), showed that the construction is confined to the B-section.

[3] Tr. II. 1231 (cited below, p. 161) can be otherwise explained than as an auxiliary use of *don*.

the case from Alfred, are in comparisons. The nearness of the two dialects will not be forgotten. But proof is lacking that this construction actually passed into the auxiliary use.

On the other hand, a great number of cases are found in Chaucer and other M.E. authors of the causative *don* in cases where some act is referred to that may appropriately be performed either by deputy or in person. In "He did build a house," when *did* is causative it means "he caused (one) to build a house." But since in statements of the kind, the thing done was often more important than the precise manner of doing it, the same formula applied in either case; just as now, "Jones is building a house," has to be supplied with further context or knowledge of circumstances before we know whether Jones is a land-owner or a carpenter. That the causative *formula* is often used where the act is in person and not by deputy, is shown in M.E. by the simple verb's occurring in the same context alongside the causative form. And what is further evidence, the causative *leten* is also used in the same weakened sense. Compare the following cases:

Pall. III. 128. *do sette* hem wide.
Cf. v. 132. So *shal thow* . . . *sette*.
Pall. II. 408. an unce of foyles *take* (imper.),
A pound of oyle . . . ,
In half a sester aged wyn *do shake*.
Pall. II. 18. To wite yf al be wel, *thy self aloon*
Transversal thorgh the forghes everichoon
Let russhe a rodde
(= . . . cognoscis, si transversam per sulcos perticam *mittas*).

The M.E. Palladius is full of cases with both *don* and *leten* in the causative formula where the context makes clear that the act is not by deputy, but by the subject of *don* and *leten*. This appears significant if the Palladius is in the East Midland dialect, for the later date than Chaucer shows exactly what we should expect Chaucer's construction to develop into.

But examination of Chaucer's use of causative *don* and *leten* likewise reveals a number of examples in which, though the causative formula is used, it is unlikely that the causative force is present. In other cases the causative sense may be present, but is paralleled by the simple verb, showing that the distinction was often lost.

Leten.

G 1254. *Lat take* another ounce.

Here it is clear that *lat take* = *take*: the priest is addressed, and does it with his own hands.

H 175. *Lat take* a cat, and fostre hym.
Cf. v. 163. *Taak* any bryd.
D 2255. *Lat brynge* a cartwheel.
Cf. v. 2258. And *bryng* me thanne twelf freres.
A 2975. Theseus anon
Leet senden after gentil Palamon.
Cf. v. 2980. Tho *sente* Theseus for Emelye.

Don.

E 863. Ye *dide* me *streepe* out of my poure weede,
And richely me *cladden*.
A 1903. He . . . hath . . .
Doon make an auter and an oratorie.
Cf. v. 1907. he *maked hath* right swich another.
B 1823. he *dide* hem *drawe*,
And after that *he heng* hem by the lawe.
R.C. 7059. he couthe thurgh his sleght
Do maken up a tour of hight.
Cf. v. 7067. And thanne that he *wolde updresse* Engyns.

In those cases like C 123, *Lat do* hym *calle*, or D 2042, And thus he *dide doon sleen* hem, while the construction may originally have involved the idea of a second deputation of the act, it is not to be supposed that, in every case of this very frequent idiom in Chaucer and M.E. generally, the distinction is carefully kept. This weakening would likewise assist the auxiliary use of *don*.

Another fact makes a direct line of connection between the causative use of *don* and its auxiliary use. Many verbs are used both transitively and intransitively. When an infinitive of one of these is used with the causative *don*, as in

R.C. 7187, That doth the synfull folk *converte*,

there is a chance that *don* should come to lose its causative force: if *converte* is intransitive, *doth* is causative; if *converte* is transitive, *doth converte* = *converteth*. So

C.L. 14. *doth* me *spille*.

A third construction could not have failed to influence the spread of the auxiliary use of *don*,—the frequent use of *nouns* after *don* in the sense of *cause*, *put*. Many such nouns were identical with verbs;

others differed only in the final *e*. The latter would join in influencing the construction as soon as *e* was dropped in common speech. A few examples will illustrate:

Tr. V. 958. doth it *care*.
Tr. V. 350. doth hem *cure*.
B 3794. For many a mannes guttes dide he *peyne*.
R.B. 4391. doth thee *payne* (fait anui et laidure).[1]

Probably no single influence brought about the modern construction. But the obscuring of the causative force of *don*, as in the examples shown above, rendered a great many cases ambiguous, as also did the use of verbs used both transitively and intransitively, and the use after *don* of many nouns similar in form to verbs; and ambiguous constructions are the natural element for constructions that are in transition.

The fact that *leten* did not become a sign for a periphrastic form as *don* did, does not prove that the weakening causative use was not a factor in the change. It might have done so; it simply did not in just the same way as *don*, though it did in other ways, as in "let us go" and "let see."

APPENDIX IV.

THE 'SPLIT' INFINITIVE.

THE cases are rare in Chaucer.

C.L. 127. Wel lever is me lyken yow and deye.
Than *for to* any thing or *thinke* or *seye*.

Several cases occur in passive infinitives in which the participle is placed between the infinitive sign and the infinitive, but these are perhaps not strictly "split" infinitives; e.g. R.B. 1714, 5120, R.C. 6146. Cf. Lb. 476.

[1] *Smerte* with *don* is infinitive in Chaucer. The noun is *smert* in Troilus (Kittredge, § 67), and it may be in the three cases cited by Skeat in the Tales, A 3813, B 3796, G 712.
Cf. C.L. 21, the more she *doth* me smerte, with R.B. 1907, *made* me *smerte*.
E 353. *do* yow *laughe* or *smerte*.
Tr. IV. 1448. ye me *cause* so *to smerte*.
Cf. Bl. 754 and Tr. IV. 880, discussed on p. 154.

In Tr. III. 367, And peril was it noon *to the bywreye*, *bywreye* is simple infinitive, subject of the sentence, and *to* goes with *the*.

The "split" infinitive is frequent in Pecock; cf. Zickner, pp. 60 ff., and in A Sermon against Miracle-plays; cf. Mtz. *Spr.* 1. 2, pp. 224 ff. (cf. note to line 5, p. 225).

APPENDIX V.

COORDINATION OF INFINITIVES.

When two or more infinitives are used in dependence on a single governing word, Chaucer shows a variety of usage as to the addition, retention, or dropping of the preposition. My count is not exhaustive, but is from such a large number of cases that it will show Chaucer's practice well enough.[1] In the following tables the dash (—) indicates the simple infinitive. The numbers indicate the number of cases counted in each instance. The conjunctions *and*, *or*, etc., are the ones that connect the infinitives in the examples examined.

To and —.	146
To or —.	34
For to and —.	62
For to or —.	7
To and *to*.	61
To or *to*.	13
To and *for to*.	26
To or *for to*.	4
For to and *for to*.	11
For to or *for to*	4
For to and *to*.	10

[1] For comparison, I include examples from the B-section of the Rose.

Miscellaneous combinations with *and*.

A 139. *to* and *to* and *to*.
A 2530. *for to* and — and eek *to*.
G 19. *to* and *for to* and — and *to*.
R.B. 5595. *for to* and not *to*; *for to* and —.
R.B. 4851. *to*; and *to* and —.
R.B. 4816. *for to* and —; and *to*.
R.B. 3845. *to* and [*to*, not in MS.]; and *for to*.
R.B. 2321. *to* and —; — and —.
R.A. 182. *to* and —; and *to*.
Tr. III. 1661. *to*; and *for to*; and *to* and —.
Tr. I. 47. *to* and — and — and *for to*.

(Here, though the sense is continuous, the last infinitive is in the following stanza.)

L. 778. *to* and *to* and *for to*.
Bl. 1227. *to* and — and — and *for to*.
Bo. IV. m. 4, 1. *to*; and *to* and —.
I 810. *for to* and *for to*; and *to* and —; and *for to*; and eek *to*.
E 977. *to*; and — and —.
B 344. *to* and —; and —.
A 2308. *for to*; and not *to* and —.
E 974. *to*; and *for to* and —.

With *or*, *ne*, *etc.*

C 16. *to* or — or — or —.
B 1527. *to*; nat *for to* or —; but *for to* and —; and *for to*.
I 818. *to* or *to*; or elles *to*.
I 407. *to*; or elles *to* or — or — or —.
R.A. 344. *to* ne —; ne *for to* ne *to*.
L. 1935. *to* or *to*; or —.
R.B. 1757. *to* or —; ne —.

With *but*.

B 2727. *for to* but *for to*.
E 1073. *for to*; and nat *to* but *for to*.
I 758. *to*; but nat *for to* ne —.
I 1018. nat *to* but only *to*.
Bo. III. p. 11, 138. *for to* . . . noght only . . . but *for to*.
Bo. IV. p. 2, 196. nat only *to* but . . . *for to*.
Bo. IV. p. 4, 317. *to* . . . but rather . . . ; nat *to* but *for to*.
Bo. V. p. 3, 137. nat only *to* . . . but *for to*.

With *than*.

F 1522. — than —.	6[1]
F 692. — than *to*.	4
B 2409. — than *for to*.	3[2]
B 114. *to* than —.	9
B 3032. *to* than *to*.	5
B 2365. *to* than *for to*.	8[3]
F 1384. *for to* than —.	3
Tr. V. 41. *for to* than *to*.	1
F 1440. *for to* than *for to*.	2
I 228. *to* and *to*; than *for to* and *to*.	

With *as*.

Tr. I. 963. — as —.	1[4]
E 2109. — as *to*.	1
B 999. *to* as *to*.	4
D 1574. *to* as *for to*.	3

The infinitive is used after *than* and *as* when there is some other element preceding. The infinitive can usually be explained as a part of the previous construction as subject, object, complement, appositive, etc.

R.B. 1854. For no thing liken me myght more
Than *dwellen* . . .
And thens never *to passe*.

Tr. V. 1271. bet were it I . . .
Myselven slowh, alwey than thus *compleyne*.

Tr. IV. 566. I sholde have
Here honour levere than my lyf *to save*.

Tr. IV. 565. And me were levere ded than here *defame*.

Tr. II. 1231. I nevere dide a thing with more peyne
Than *write* this.

An. 300. Nay! rather deth then *do* so foul a dede
And *axe* mercy.

Bl. 50. me thoghte it better play
Then *playen*.

[1] That is, in cases where other than the simple infinitive is possible.
[2] Two cases in prose, one in R.C.
[3] All cases in prose.
[4] We may have the imperative in this case. But the infinitive suits our present feeling, as can be seen by introducing *to*: It fareth on som servise as [to] plante a tre . . . And on the morwe [to] pulle it up.

I 146. ne a fouler thral may no man . . . maken of his body, than *for to yeven* his body to synne.

F 1364. Hath ther nat many a noble wyf . . .
. . . yslayn hir self, allas!
Rather than with hir body *doon* trespass?

Cf. v. 1376. Rather than they *wolde lese*, and 1403. *chees* rather *to dye*.

R.B. 4780. No bettir counsel maist thou take
Than *thynke* to fleen.

F 1331. I speke it for the honour of yow
Moore than *to save* myn hertes lyf.

R.A. 1325. ther nys so good paradys
As *to have* a love at his devys.

Tr. III. 641. as good chep *may* I dwelle here
. . . . .
. . . as *grucche* and thanne *abyde*.

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